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NOTES AND NEWS

THE DUCIE MUNIMENTS.

THE Library has recently received on deposit the largest single collection in its charge relating directly to the history of this City. In the early township of Manchester the principal estate, apart from the manor itself, was that of Strangeways. For a considerable time held by a family of the same name, Strangeways passed successively into the possession of the Hartleys (mid-seventeenth century), the Reynolds (1711) and, through the marriage of Thomas Reynolds with the daughter of the 1st Lord Ducie, into the Ducie family. In August of last year, through the good offices of Mr. W. M. Blair, his agent, and Mr. Irvine E. Gray, Records Officer of Gloucestershire, this portion of the Ducie muniments was deposited with us by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ducie. Covering some seven centuries and consisting of 4,370 documents and papers and forty-three manuscript volumes, the collection contains a wealth of information concerning Manchester properties, land, streets, general topography and, to a lesser extent, bridges and railways. Conveyances of messuages and gardens in the main thoroughfares are numerous among the medieval items and many fourteenth century charters relate to Millgate, Hanging Ditch, the Corn Market, the Parsonage and, most frequent of all, the Market Stead and Deansgate. Strangeways itself is, of course, well represented. In addition to leases, grants and similar documents there is a considerable section consisting of rentals, accounts and allied estate documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, among them being papers of Robert Hedderwick and William Fermie, successive agents to Lord Ducie during the first half of last century, and

documents concerning the law suit between the Hartley and Strangeways families respecting the same property. A collection of miscellaneous records (sixteenth-eighteenth century) of these two families contains some noteworthy individual bundles. Thus, amongst papers of John Hartley are a number (1645-53) respecting the money collected in London and Westminster for the relief of the poor of Manchester and Salford afflicted by the great plague of 1645 and the financial aid which Manchester, remembering this kindness, gave in return some twenty years later. Also not without interest is the original petition to Parliament by Hartley and other inhabitants of Manchester—over sixty of them add their signatures—for the relief of the ministry, so deprived of means of subsistence " that the Church is in great danger to bee deprived of their Ministers, who have run all hazards with us, in the tyme of warr and plague ". Another small group consists of letters from the Merchant Taylors' Company written in 1654 and 1655 to their school at Crosby, founded in 1620. Other documents deal with roads, bridges and railways in the Manchester area. There are, for example, accounts, estimates, expenses, and similar records relating to Ashton Road (1836-9) and, more fully, Bury New Road (1827-59). A small bundle of letters, bills, diagrams and plans (1814-16) concerns the bridge across the River Irk at the bottom of Miller Street, while, amongst various papers relating to railways, are letters and tenders respecting the railway at Chat Moss (1832-3) and papers and plans (1837-47) dealing with the Manchester and Leeds Railway.

THE HAIGH MUNIMENTS.

In 1946 the Earl of Crawford deposited in the Library his valuable collection of family muniments, comprising both the Scottish documents and the records of his Lancashire estates. To the latter, which came into the family through the marriage of Alexander, the 23rd Earl, in 1780, he has now added a further 560 items relating to the Bradshaighs, former owners of the estates, and to Wigan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The new additions supplement letters and papers already in the collection and with them, as Mrs. M. Cox has shown in an article published in the preceding

number of the BULLETIN, form an extensive and valuable source of information for the town government of Wigan at this time, its parliamentary representation, and the conflicting interests and loyalties which affected both. Among other papers on this subject are three series of letters which throw much light on the complicated problem of the electoral management of the borough during the years for which Sir Roger Bradshaigh, the 3rd Baronet, represented Wigan in Parliament; some 200 are from Bradshaigh's fellow-member, James, 4th Earl of Barrymore, 250 from his legal adviser, Alexander Leigh, and 45 from George Winstanley, who replaced Leigh as his informant on Wigan affairs in the 1740s. Other correspondence and documents concern the disputes arising from the election of town officials (including the Mayor and Town Clerk) and burgesses, and the various influences which were invoked to sway the Wigan voters. Among individual items of interest may be mentioned a paper headed "The wants and defects in the Pewterers Trade att Wigan", dealing with differences which had arisen between the Town and the Pewterers and with some of the disadvantages under which the latter laboured compared with their London counterparts. Beginning with the statement that "Wigan consists chiefly of Pewterers", it goes on to suggest that they should be incorporated and given authority to make by-laws for the regulation of their trade and ends with a list of aldermen, bailiffs, burgesses and freemen who exercised this trade. Among other records of interest are receipts for their Salary by the Head Master and Under Master of Wigan Grammar School in the early eighteenth century and a small group of documents concerning the getting of coal in the area.

SOME AMERICAN "BULLETIN" CONTRIBUTORS.

From its earliest appearances the BULLETIN has included many valuable contributions from American scholars, and not least in the field of eighteenth-century literary research. In the present number we welcome four further articles from American scholars based on such materials among our collections.

Included in the Thrale-Piozzi MSS. which the Library acquired in 1931 was a loosely-tied packet bearing, in

Mrs. Thrale's hand, the note: "Original Letters from Dean Swift and Lord Orrery." The packet, in fact, contained miscellaneous pieces in verse and prose, a number of them in Swift's hand and two bearing endorsements by Dr. Johnson. Dr. George Mayhew of Harvard has recently shown their importance for the word-games in which Swift indulged (BULLETIN, vol. 36, no. 2) and pointed out that one of them is a draft of part of a poem which Swift addressed to John Gay in 1731 (ibid. vol. 37, no. 1). In the pages below Professor Irvin Ehrenpreis of Indiana University and Professor James L. Clifford of Columbia University analyse the whole collection, give transcripts of those fragments by Swift and the Orrerys not already printed, and draws attention to three other items, now in private hands, which must at one time have formed part of this bundle.

Among other Johnson items in the Library is the copy of the fourth edition (1773) of the famous *Dictionary* which the lexicographer left to Sir Joshua Reynolds; from Reynolds this volume passed, through the Marchioness of Thomond (his niece), into the Spencer collection and thence into the Rylands. Apart from being Johnson's personal copy, the volume has the additional interest of containing the last of his manuscript corrections. Professors Gwin J. Kolb and James H. Sledd of Chicago deal with these holograph corrections below and relate them to the "booksellers' war" which followed Johnson's death. Their detailed examination "confirms the established opinion that the fourth edition is the best printed authority for Johnson's considered judgements of English words, with the exception of somewhat more than two hundred entries in which the sixth and seventh incorporate his last revisions".

Dr. W. H. Pedicord of Pittsburgh contributes a study of a rather unusual eighteenth-century theatrical notebook, also found among our English manuscripts. This unique little volume contains annotated lists of plays performed at Covent Garden and the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, between September 1740 and May 1742. Its acquisition by the Library was announced in the *Johnsonian News Letter* in 1948, but its author had not then been identified. Dr. Pedicord has been able to associate it with Richard Cross, a leading member of a famous eighteenth-

century theatrical family and the prompter to David Garrick at Drury Lane from 1747 until his death in 1760.

Finally, we print an interesting contribution from Professor Gazley of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, on the subject of Arthur Young, a former Secretary to the Board of Agriculture and perhaps the greatest English writer on agriculture. Professor Gazley, who deals with the surviving sources for Young's life, draws on certain letters and papers which, as reported in the Notes and News section of an earlier BULLETIN (vol. 35, no. 2), came to light in the Library when the Bagshawe Muniments were being calendared. Together with other correspondence in the Manuscript Rooms they form, as he points out below, one of the two most important English collections for Young's biography now available and, in addition, include certain interesting letters from his son, the Reverend Arthur Young, concerning his travels in Russia; the latter furnish the main source for a second article by Professor Gazley which is to appear in the next BULLETIN.

VISIT OF DR. MOSCONAS.

In September of last year we received a visit from Dr. T. D. Mosconas, Chief Librarian of the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate at Alexandria. Dr. Mosconas is no stranger to the Library or, indeed, to Manchester, for he lived in this City from 1918 to 1923 and studied in the Library with the late Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. Alphonse Mingana. The Patriarchal Library, after a long and brilliant history, celebrated its Millenary in November 1952. Beginning in Alexandria, it followed the Patriarchs to Cairo after the Arabic Conquest of Egypt in the mid-seventh century and there it remained until 1928 when Meletios II transferred it to its old home. Alexandria has been a city in which Libraries have flourished for over twelve hundred years, and notably the "Great Library" founded by the first Ptolemies. Discussing this famous foundation Dr. Mosconas said there could be little doubt that Julius Caesar had burnt the "Great Library" and that the Patriarch Theophilus had destroyed the "daughter" library together with the Serapeum. He doubted the well-known story, given by Abu'l Faraj, of the burning of the Alexandrine

collections to provide fuel for the public baths and dismissed the tale of John the Grammarian as "a fable". After the previous destruction there could, argued Dr. Mosconas, have hardly been much left for 'Amr to burn and it seems strange that John did not even save some of the manuscripts which, according to Abu'l Faraj, were being fed to the flames for six months. On all these points differing views are held and it is of interest to obtain the opinion of the distinguished librarian of the Patriarchal Library.

PRINTED BOOKS: ACQUISITIONS BY PURCHASE.

Purchases during the latter part of 1954 have been restricted, for the most part, to recent books essential to keep the Library's collections up-to-date. Among such acquisitions special attention may be drawn to *The Irish miniatures in the Abbey Library of St. Gall*, by Johannes Duft and Peter Meyer; *The Arna-Magnaean manuscript* 551*A*. 4*to. Barðar saga, etc.*; *Studies in art and literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, edited by Dorothy Miner; and *The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae*, 1457-1459, by Sir Irvine Masson, F.R.S. The last-named volume, a recent publication of the Bibliographical Society, is of particular interest, for much of the preparatory work for this masterly study was carried out on the Rylands copies of the Psalters, which form part of the fine series of Fust and Schoeffer imprints in the possession of the Library.

Among sections of the department which have been materially strengthened are those of eighteenth-century English almanacks, of early Quaker literature, of French cartularies, and of French Revolutionary material. Among rare items from the period covered by Wing, *English Books*, 1641-1700, may be mentioned Keith, *Gross error and hypocrisie detected*, 1695 (Wing K172), and *The report of the Commissioners . . . on Irish forfeitures*, 1700 (Wing E231), bound in a folio volume with ten other tracts of the period. An interesting addition to the collection of broadside proclamations presented to the Library by the late Earl of Crawford on the occasion of its Semi-jubilee is a group of 79 *Dépêches officielles du Gouvernement*, almost all of which were printed in Aix-en-Provence in 1870 and 1871.

The most considerable purchase consisted of 273 volumes, acquired from the British and Foreign Bible Society, of versions of the Bible or parts of the Bible issued by that body. A check of the Library's holding of B.F.B.S. issues, made early in the year, revealed that only 116 languages, out of the 808 in which the Society has issued versions, were fully represented. The Library possessed, in addition, some part of the B.F.B.S. version in over 300 languages, but 465 languages were completely unrepresented. With the help of the Society the number of languages in which the Library possesses every book of the Bible published by them has been increased from 116 to 262, while the number of unrepresented languages has decreased from 465 to 270. In view of the outstanding importance of the Library's Bible collection it is most desirable that the B.F.B.S. section should be as complete as possible. Gifts of such versions, particularly in Oriental and African languages, would be most acceptable.

PRINTED BOOKS: GIFTS AND EXCHANGES

At the conclusion of these Notes will be found a list of all donors, individual and institutional, who, during the last six months, have made gifts of books to the department. Although it is not possible to particularise all these gifts, it may be appropriate to mention a few outstanding items. From His Excellency G. J. Rhallys, Minister at the Presidency of the Council, Athens, was received a beautiful volume, *Benaki Museum. Hellenic national costumes*, vol. 1, edited by Antony E. Benaki, 1948; from Mr. A. P. Wadsworth, amongst other gifts, Argenti, *The Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, and the fine reproduction of the *Album de Redouté*, recently issued by Messrs. Collins; and from the Family of N. Kingsley, Esq., the second volume of the new Hebrew *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Other gifts were, from Mr. T. H. Moffett, 58 volumes of *The papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, 1882-1939, and a number of works of Jewish interest, including one of his own works, from Dr. Oskar K. Rabinowicz. Among other individual gifts were an unusually large number of author's presentation copies, some owing much to material in the possession of the Library, others expressing appreciation of assistance given by the Library through correspondence or the

provision of photographic reproductions. Such gifts were those of Dr. Curt F. Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Rev. P. H. Francis, Dr. I. Stchoukine of Beirut, and Dr. A. Karahan of Istanbul.

Among gifts of items of earlier date attention may be drawn to that of Mr. R. T. Lever of Adel, Everard Maynwaring, *The method and means of enjoying health*, 1683 (Wing M 1498); of Mr. Henry S. Wihl, Bishop Samuel Bradford, *The qualifications requisite*, 1699, bound with nine other separately printed Boyle lectures delivered by the Bishop in that year (Wing B 4107, etc.), and a curious late eighteenth-century broadside, *Copy of a letter written by Jesus Christ*; and of Mrs. E. Radcliffe of Greenfield, *The book of common prayer*, Manchester, Joseph Harrop [1765].

There has been a steady increase in the number of institutions with which the Library is in exchange relations. During the last few months exchanges have been arranged with over twenty institutions in ten different countries. These include universities and colleges in Boston (Mass.), Genoa, Ibadan, Keele, Poona and Turin, learned societies in Algiers, Basel, Caen, Göttingen, Munich and Naples, and libraries in Madras and Washington. Most of these exchanges commence with the current volume but we have received complete, or almost complete, runs of the *Bulletin international* of the Académie Yougoslave, Zagreb, from the University library in that city; of *Acta orientalia* from the Magyar Tudomanyos Akademia, Budapest; and of *Annales de Normandie* from the Société des Enquêtes Ethnographiques, Caen. Other institutions which have made substantial gifts of their publications, many by way of exchange, include the University libraries of Basel, Copenhagen, Groningen, Kentucky, New York, Tucumán and Zagreb, the Academia das Ciencias of Lisbon, the National Register of Archives, the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, and the Presses of the Universities of Manchester and Virginia. The handsome, privately-printed volume, *The Sterling Library : a catalogue*, was a gift from London University Library, to which this fine collection of English literature was presented by Sir Louis Sterling.

THE MIDGLEY COLLECTION.

The Midgley Reference Library of Quaker books and pamphlets is shortly to be deposited in the Library. This collection was presented to the Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting in 1863 by the surviving children of James Midgley of Spring Hill, near Rochdale, who had spent much time, thought and money in bringing it together. Since that date it has been housed in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester, where the Library Committee has always been generous in allowing students access to it. In agreeing to the deposit in the John Rylands Library, the Quarterly Meeting has also had in view the Library's photographic facilities which will make the rare items of the collection available to scholars in any part of the world. The Library consists of 221 volumes comprising over 1,200 different items, which range in date from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, but the majority of the collection comprises rare Quaker writings from the later seventeenth century. There are fifty-six volumes, containing nearly 1,000 tracts, among which are to be found works by all the outstanding Quaker writers of the period. George Fox is represented by over 100 works, William Penn by 38, and Isaac Pennington, son of the Lord Mayor of London, by 45 out of a total of 78 recorded in Wing's " Short-title catalogue ". Among the important group of Commonwealth tracts are several rare, anti-Quaker items, e.g. George Emmot's *Northern Blast, or the spiritual Quaker converted*, 1655. It is estimated that some 6,000 Quaker items appeared before 1700; of these the Midgley Library contains about 1,000. The books are housed in a solid wooden book-case and are in excellent condition, having been well cared for by the Committee to whom they were entrusted, which, in 1866, published a catalogue of the collection. Its value has in the past been reduced by the absence from it of collected editions of the great Quaker writers and of standard historical and bibliographical works on Quakerism. By its deposit in the John Rylands Library its value as material for the study of early Quaker history will be much enhanced by its proximity to the strong Quaker collection already to be found there.

During the second half of 1954 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors offer their grateful thanks :

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Cairo : Institut d'Égypte.
Cairo : Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
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Munich : Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte.
Munster-i.W. University Library.

Namur : Faculté Nôtre-Dame de Philosophie et Lettres.
Naples : Biblioteca Nazionale [3].
National Register of Archives [37].
New York State Library.
New York University Library [24].
New Zealand : High Commissioner in London [3].
Northampton, Mass. : Smith College Library.
Paris : Byzantine Institute [2].
Paris : École des Chartes.
Pforzheimer, Carl and Lily, Foundation, Inc., Purchase, N.Y.
Pisa : Scuola Normale Superiore [3].
Pretoria : Staatsbiblioteek.
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Wellington, N.Z. : Alexander Turnbull Library.
Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, Messrs.
Zagreb : Sveučilišna Knjižnica [23].
Zürich : Zentralbibliothek [40].

In addition to these donations many learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

The following is a list of recent Library publications :

RECENT LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS.

" Manchester University : Faculty of Theology. Theological Essays in commemoration of the Jubilee." By L. W. Grensted [late Nolloth Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion in the University of Oxford], L. E. Browne [Emeritus Professor of the University of Leeds], and C. H. Dodd [formerly Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge]. With an introduction by T. W. Manson [Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester]. 1954. 8vo, pp. 64. Price five shillings net. (The articles by Professors Grensted, Browne and Dodd are reprinted from the BULLETIN, vol. 37, no. 1. September 1954.)

The following articles from the same BULLETIN have also been reprinted :

" The Creation of the Fourfold Gospel." By Kenneth L. Carrol, Assistant Professor in Religion, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. 8vo, pp. 10. Price two shillings net.

" Robert Owen, Peter Drinkwater and the Early Factory System in Manchester, 1788-1800." By W. H. Chaloner, Senior Lecturer in Modern Economic History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 25, with plate. Price three shillings net.

" Individuality of Thought." By John Cohen, Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 17. Price two shillings net.

" Sir Roger Bradshaigh, 3rd Baronet, and the Electoral Management of Wigan, 1695-1747." By Marjorie Cox. 8vo, pp. 45. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple." By H. W. Fairman, Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. 8vo, pp. 39, with plate. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" Some Letters of Sir Francis Dashwood, Baron Le Despencer, as Joint Postmaster General, 1766-81." By Betty Kemp, Fellow and Tutor in History, St. Hugh's College, Oxford. 8vo, pp. 45. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" The ' Relativism ' of Prodicus." By G. B. Kerferd, Senior Lecturer in Greek and Latin in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 8. Price two shillings net.

" A draft of Ten Lines from Swift's Poem to John Gay." By George Mayhew of Harvard University. 8vo, pp. 6. Price two shillings net.

" The John Rylands Laylā wa Majnūn and the Bodleian Nawā'ī of 1485 : a Royal Timurid Manuscript." By B. W. Robinson, Deputy Keeper, Victoria and Albert Museum. 8vo, pp. 8, with plates. Price two shillings net.

" Economic and Social Consequences of the Hannibalic War." By Arnold Toynbee, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 8vo, pp. 17. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

" The Land Tax in Scotland, 1707-98." By W. R. Ward, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 21. Price three shillings net.

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" Magnificat and Benedictus—Maccabaean Psalms ? " By Paul Winter. 8vo, pp. 20. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

SWIFTIANA IN RYLANDS ENGLISH MS. 659 AND RELATED DOCUMENTS [1]

By IRVIN EHRENPREIS, Ph.D.
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY

AND

JAMES L. CLIFFORD, Ph.D.
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AMONG the mass of papers from the collection of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi acquired by the John Rylands Library in January 1931 there was a small packet of manuscripts having to do with Jonathan Swift and his friends. The outside cover carried the somewhat misleading comment in the handwriting of Mrs. Piozzi, " Original Letters | from Dean Swift & Lord Orrery ". Another note was made long afterwards in pencil, now almost obliterated. It is headed, " 21 Sep. 1880 ", and was presumably written by the Rev. Augustus Salusbury, the son of Mrs. Piozzi's heir, Sir John Salusbury : " Nothing of the Kind | now there is 1 Letter from | Lady Orrery none from Lord | the rest are unsigned | there is no proof that they | are in the Dean's hand | writing—besides they are | not letters only scraps."[2]

As will be shown later, the packet did originally contain at least two letters from Lord Orrery, though there is no evidence of any sent by Swift. The collection is actually a mélange—a few letters addressed to Mrs. Martha Whiteway, the Dean's

[1] We are indebted to Professor Louis A. Landa of Princeton University and to Mr. James J. Kernan of Roslyn Heights, N.Y., for expert help in the first stage of this investigation. Professor Edward Robertson, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts, have been most courteous and precise in dealing with our inquiries.

[2] In quotations, a single vertical means the end of a line ; a double vertical, the end of a page ; half-brackets indicate obliterations ; half-diagonals, insertions ; a question mark between square brackets follows doubtful readings ; illegible letters are indicated by periods between square brackets. In the measurements of manuscripts, the length is given first.

cousin and last housekeeper ; some miscellaneous pieces having no obvious connection with him ; and, lastly, several manuscript fragments wholly or partly in Swift's handwriting. These fragments include word games, notes and drafts for poems and essays, memoranda made apparently for a conversation with the Earl of Oxford, and a letter to Thomas Sheridan in Swift's artificial language " Latino-Anglica ".[1] They are similar to materials which may be found in the Forster Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Huntington Library.

It is not known how the little collection came into the possession of Mrs. Piozzi, but since two of the items have on them short endorsements in the handwriting of Dr. Johnson, the chances are that the whole lot passed through his hands.[2] The earlier provenance remains a mystery. Nevertheless, we can make a few speculations. Because some of the correspondence of Mrs. Whiteway is included, it seems likely that she was the original collector. Swift entrusted many of his papers to her, and these went for the most part to her son-in-law, Deane Swift—biographer of Jonathan and editor of his works. Johnson may have secured the items in English MS. 659 directly from the family of Deane Swift, or perhaps from John Hawkesworth, another biographer of Swift, who had worked with Deane Swift and was intimate with Johnson. When Hawkesworth prepared his book on the Dean, he got help from Johnson, who continued on friendly terms with his widow. There is also a slim chance that Johnson or Hawkesworth received the papers from Dr. John Lyon, one of Swift's guardians and executors, either directly or through an intermediary, perhaps Lyon's nephew, Thomas Steele. By whatever means, the papers probably came to Johnson while he was writing the *Lives of the Poets*, though they could have supplied nothing of importance to the biographer.

[1] This spelling, used by Swift himself in No. 17 of the manuscripts studied here, seems preferable to " Latino-Anglicus ", which is found only in a printed source ; see *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. Elrington Ball (London, 1910-14), v. 240 (cited below as Ball).

[2] There is a possibility, of course, that the two leaves endorsed by Johnson were not a part of the original packet but were inserted by later owners.

Some of the Swift manuscripts in the packet have recently been discussed by Dr. George Mayhew and others,[1] but there has never been a detailed description of the entire bundle. We shall therefore list all the pieces known to have been in it, and give transcripts of those by Swift and the Orrerys which have not already been printed. In the following list, the numbering of the manuscripts is that applied arbitrarily when they were first catalogued; at that time no chronology was intended.

1. The cover leaf, 9 × 18 cm., endorsed as already indicated.

2. Two leaves 23 × 18 cm. On the first recto are some verses which have been published and discussed in Sir Harold Williams' edition of Swift's *Poems* (Oxford, 1937), ii. 662-4.[2] The second verso is addressed, in an unknown hand, "To the Rev.d D.r Swift | Dean of St. Patrick's | Dublin". Above the address is an endorsement in Swift's hand, "On the Hermitage".

3. The outer leaf of a letter 22·2 × 18 cm. It is addressed "To M.r Harrison" and bears a red seal. It contains a poem by Lord Orrery, in a scribe's hand, headed, "To The Rev.d D.r Swift Dean of S.t Patrick's, | sending him a Present of a Paper Book finely bound. | Dublin November 30.th 1732." The first fourteen lines of the poem are on the recto, the last fourteen on the verso. It is signed "Orrery", in the author's hand. Written sideways at the bottom of the verso, in a third, unidentified hand, is an endorsement, "Lord Orrery | To Dean Swift". The poem, except for insignificant details, is identical with that published and discussed in the *Poems*, ii. 609-10.

4. A letter on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 23·7 × 18·5 cm. It is from Dr. William King to Mrs.

[1] George P. Mayhew, "Swift's Anglo-Latin Games and a Fragment of *Polite Conversation* in Manuscript", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, xvii (1954), 133-59 (cited below as Mayhew *HLQ*); "Swift's Games with Language in Rylands English MS. 659", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxvi, no. 2 (March 1954), 413-48 (cited below as Mayhew *BJRL*); "A Draft of Ten Lines from Swift's Poem to Gay", ibid. xxxvii, no. 1 (September 1954), 257-62. Ellen D. Leyburn, "Swift's Language Trifles", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, xv (1952), 195-200. *Handlist of Additions to the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928-35* (Manchester, 1935), p. 32.

[2] Cited below as *Poems*.

Whiteway, and has been published by Sir Harold Williams in *The Library*, 4th ser., xvi. 69-70.[1]

5. A letter on a leaf 22·5 × 19 cm. It is to Mrs. Whiteway from Lady Orrery and apparently in her hand. The verso, endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway's hand, "Lady Orrery", is franked with the name of "Boyle", postmarked $\frac{31}{DE}$, and addressed, "To| Mrs Whiteway | in Capell-Street | Dublin | Ireland". The message is on the recto :[2]

Marston Decbr 29:th1742

Dear Madam

Tho' my Eyes are still a little weak, yet I must | thank you for all your good wishes to me and my Son Edmund. | He is a fine strong Child, and I have not from the moment | of his birth had the least complaint. I recovered very soon, | even tho' the day Edmund was a Fortnight old he was taken | extreamly ill, with disorders occasioned by Wind; Mr Cleland | who attended him said, as Milk was a Windy Food, the Child | must not suck, I have consented, and he is to be brought up by | Hand, he feeds very well, and will not want my Breast. I may | therefore go and suckle her Grace of Marlborough, who lives | entirely upon Breast Milk, without Mrs Swift[3] (to whome | my best Respects) wants a Nurse.

We have fixed our residence at this Place for | the Winter, the Gayeties of Life I have long been tired of, and | if it pleas God Almighty my little Boy lives, this part of | the World, which is in all ⌜other⌝ respects the most Solitary | I ever knew, will want nothing but now and then the sight of | so good a Friend as Mrs Whiteways, to whome I am more than | my paper will permit me to say, but in one word Yours

M Orrery

6. A letter on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 22·2 × 18·5 cm. It is dated from London, 26 January 1747-8, addressed to Mrs. Whiteway, signed by Caroline Fred. Scott (a man), but apparently written in a scribe's hand. The second verso, endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway's hand, "Coll Scott", is postmarked $\frac{26}{IA}$ and is directed, "To | Mrs Whiteway att Her House | in Linnen Hall Street. | Dublin". The message occupies the first recto and verso, and ends at the top of the second recto. It concerns her son, Ffolliott, who was then in

[1] It is also discussed by Williams in Swift's *Prose Writings*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1938 etc.), vii, p. xiv (cited below as Davis).

[2] See footnote 2, p. 368.

[3] Mrs. Whiteway's daughter, married to Deane Swift, her third cousin.

the army but eventually became an attorney. Scott was later Chief Engineer of the army in India and died at Calcutta in 1756; he was not made a lieutenant-colonel until 5 January 1749.[1]

7. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 15 × 9·8 cm. and then folded in half again, in the same direction, for filing. The inner verso and recto were originally used as a cover for a letter, addressed, "To | the Dean". The second verso is endorsed in Swift's hand:

Guinea
Greek
Letters

The first recto has a list of puns, in Swift's hand, on the letters of the Greek alphabet. This exercise was published by Dr. George Mayhew in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxvi, no. 2 (March 1954), 413-15.

8. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 16·5 × 10 cm. Originally, Swift seems to have begun a letter to his mother on it: for the second recto has the following heading and salutation written sideways by him near the right-hand edge, so that they would have been near the top of the page when it was held with that edge up:

Moor Park—August the 5th 1698

Dear Mother.

On the first recto are notes by Swift, most of them about the North American Indians:

North America

The northern Americans are content y^{e} should baptise them 6 times | a day for a glass of Aqua vita; or a Pipe of Tobacco.

They think when the dye, that their Souls shall hunt the Bulls | Souls, and smoak th soul of their Tobacco, & use the Souls of all | their Utensils, &c.

The prodigious fall of Niagara in the lake Erie, R. of S^{t} Laurence

[1] Charles Dalton, *George the First's Army 1714-1727* (London, 1912), ii. 207-8.

A ceremony of crying for the Bulls that shall be killd, before they go | to hunt them. and crying over those ⌜Enem⌝ Captives the would murder.

They change wives, & argue well for th reasonableness of it.

There Superstition, seems mixt with Judaism, frō whom the | Author thinks they descended.

The consult, fight, hunt, & do all matters of Importance as their | dreams direct them : & will murder their friend if advised by a dream

These Savages have a complaisant humor, of complying to any | Opinion you deliver, and to avoyd Contradiction, w^{ch} they think the | height of ill breeding ; and this is esteemd a great hindrance to | their Conversion : because their complyance is a business of form, and | they never heed or value any Opinion at all, but expect yr Complyance | as y had theirs

Hermaphrodites plenty among them.

These jottings are based on the works of Louis Hennepin, whose three books about America went through many editions and were reprinted in many forms and languages. Swift's facts come from the second and third of the books, the *Nouvelle Découverte* and the *Nouveau Voyage*, which he may have read either in French or in the popular English translation of 1698, which contained them both (separately paginated) in one volume, *A New Discovery . . . with a Continuation.* His language is not close enough to the English or the French for us to be sure which he used, especially since the *New Discovery* is a rather literal version. There are two points, both in the first sentence, where he varies from the English in such a way as to indicate that he was translating from the French: "6 times" and "Aqua vita". Here the *Nouveau Voyage* reads "dix fois" and "eau de vie"; but the *Continuation* reads "ten times" and "Brandy". A misreading of "six" for "dix" would explain Swift's numeral, and "Aqua vita" seems more likely as a translation of "eau de vie" than as a memory of "Brandy". But there are other facts which argue for the English. First, the odd heading which Swift uses could be based on the running head of the *Continuation*: "*A Voyage into* North America". Secondly, Swift did not make his notes systematically as he went right through the books, but skipped about between the two. This practice suggests that he had them in some such compact

form as the one-volume English format—though separate French volumes could easily have been bound together.[1]

The rest of this page is taken up with Latin lines, in Swift's hand, from Aristophanes' *Wasps* (lines 815-17, 1253-5) and *Birds* (lines 375, 605, 901-2):

Aristophanis Vespae

Philos. Sed cur tulistis hanc cristatum altum ?
Bd. ut dormientem dum reus defenditur
Si forte ab alto te canens exsuscitat.

Potasse valde noxium est, vinum fecit pultare januam | et fores confingere, et pendere aera post solutam crapulem

[Aves] Aves
Ab inimicis certe multa discunt sapientes
Homo male agens nemo sanus est
Haec sacrificia nil aliud sunt praeter barba[m]q3 [γενειὸν] [2] et cornua

The first verso has a note by Swift on the *Memoirs* of Philippe de Comines, Book V, Chapter 19, the opening paragraphs (Swift's " 18 " is evidently a mistake):

Comines

L. 5 ^C. 18^ Praise of Engl. Governmt. Tyranny to raise money without consent | of those who are to pay it. K'^s^ of France least reason to do it of | all others &c

On the second verso, inverted near the bottom of the page as it now stands, is a list in Swift's hand, of terms for measuring area. The writing is particularly careful and distinct:

A Knights fee. is 4 hide. or 640 Acres
A Hide is 4 Yard
A Yard is 4 Farrundells
A Farrundell is ten Acres.
An Acre.

[1] Possible sources for Swift's notes (numbered 1 to 9 to correspond with his divisions in the manuscript) will be found in the following editions of Hennepin's works; the list is not exhaustive but illustrative: *Nouvelle Découverte*, Utrecht, Broedelet, 1697 (copy in Columbia U.L.): ch. vii (3); ch. xv (8); ch. xxxiii, p. 219 (9); ch. xlv, pp. 316-17 (4); ch. xlviii, xlix, l (4); ch. lxx (3). *Nouveau Voyage*, Utrecht, Schouten, 1698 (copy in N.Y.P.L.): ch. xi, pp. 121-2 (2); pp. 123-4 (6); ch. xii, p. 133 (1); ch. xiii, p. 138 (7); ch. xiv, p. 145 (5); pp. 145-6 (8); ch. xxv, p. 224 (4); ch. xxviii, p. 245 (6); ch. xxix, p. 250 (2); ch. xxx (8); ch. xxxii, p. 277 (8). *New Discovery*, London, Bentley, etc. 1698 (copy in Columbia U.L.): p. 24 (3); p. 106 (9); p. 151 (4). *Continuation* (same copy): p. 57 (2); p. 58 (6); p. 63 (1); p. 66 (7); pp. 69-70 (5); p. 108 (4); p. 118 (6); p. 120 (2); p. 123 (8); pp. 132-3 (8).

[2] Swift's brackets.

Just under this list, to the right, is an unintelligible but clearly written cipher, probably in Swift's hand, which looks like "$\overline{8^{d}er}$". Its position is significant: for filing, the manuscript was folded vertically a second time, this page (like the rest) being divided into halves; and the cipher is in roughly the centre of the right-hand half. But when the page is turned around and held right side up, another cipher is situated at the top of what now becomes the right hand half. It too seems to be in Swift's hand; the letters look like "$\overline{ME}$", and are similar to the cipher for Esther Johnson in Swift's account books. (Possibly he made the list for her benefit.) The manuscript was no doubt kept with first one and then the other half of this page uppermost, and the ciphers as endorsements.

It is difficult to date these notes. They may have been made at widely divergent times. Some clues associate them with the period around 1698: the heading of the letter, the date of publication of Hennepin in English, the fact that Swift was very studious at that time. Other clues suggest the period around 1724. The Niagara's cataract is mentioned in *Gulliver*, II. viii. Comines (the chapter just before that from which Swift took his note) is quoted in a pamphlet, dated January 1724-5, which Swift may have helped to write.[1] The theme of the *Wasps*—demagogic abuses of the Athenian judicial system—was in Swift's mind during his fight with the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 1720-5. But none of the evidence has much weight, except the heading of the unwritten letter.

9. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 14·8 × 9·2 cm. For filing, the manuscript was folded again, in the same direction, so that each page is divided into halves. The right half of the second verso was probably kept outermost, since there is at the top of this an endorsement in Swift's hand:

Hints
Educ^{tn} de dames
pour une Intelligencer

Beginning at the top of the first recto and ending at the top of the first verso are notes in Swift's hand, on the education of women. At first, these were simply headed, "Hints", in the

[1] *The Drapier's Letters*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1935), pp. 285-6.

centre. Later, " Education of Ldyes " was added immediately to the right. Though Swift evidently planned to work these ideas into a number of *The Intelligencer*, the periodical which he produced with Thomas Sheridan, he never published such an essay himself. But a fragment " Of the Education of Ladies " was included by Deane Swift in the volume which he compiled for Hawkesworth's edition of Jonathan Swift's works (vol. viii in 4to, 1765, pt. i, pp. 265-8). These hints were almost certainly meant to be used here; and one, the argument about " ballast ", is worked out (p. 266). The complaint that so few women can read, is made in *A Letter to a Young Lady on Her Marriage* perhaps by coincidence, for it is one of Swift's characteristic notions.[1] Swift was occupied with *The Intelligencer*, 1728-9, and the notes may have been written then or earlier:[2]

> No great matter for the bulk of women, since the Men | are as foolish & ignorant.
>
> ---
>
> Begin. A person of Quality a little absolute, a man of | tast and letters who well knew how to support his opinions, which | were generally right, fell into one, which I thought he held in a | sense not sufficiently limited., although he had many old proverbs and | maxims on his side. which carry the authority of ages with him | that women shoud only regard their Children & family &c.
>
> ---
>
> My practice of advising Ldys to read, and what; and my way of | instructing young Misses.
>
> ---
>
> I used to stay a month or two. the Country desolate. the | Neighbourhood scarce and not very inviting.
>
> ---
>
> A Companion for life to a man of Sense especially without | Employm^{t}, and violent lover of the Country. should have a | reasonable companion., who could distinguish a man of Sense &c, | and relish good conversation without being talkative, positive | or assuming
>
> ---
>
> It would make the women love home better, and able to teach | their Daughters.
> The Lady was a considerable heiress used too fondly, live in Town | had that kind of Education which is called the best. learning | Italian, French, Musick and Singing, all w^{ch} she forgot &c. | fell into play, visits, assemblies &c.
>
> ---
>
> No French Romances., and few plays. for young Ladyes
>
> ---

[1] Davis, ix. 91.

[2] They were privately printed in a very small edition by Dr. Herbert Davis, Oxford, 1954.

How hard for a woman to live solitary and not read ;

A generall inspection into family affairs right : but not to be | a Housekeeper &c. any more than an Architect should have his | hand : in mortar.

I have often thanked God that custom has made it detestable | otherwise. otherwise they have a good plea to keep a Gallant rather | than marry, I mean a great heiress, who when she is marryd | can call nothing her own, & may want common necessaryes, by | the churlishness of a husband &c. therefore I was never a | against what they call pin-money. nor see the reason why | people should not part when all agreem^{t} is desperate || Women I own do often want 'batl' balast &c. but it is | often through ignorance or half knoledge.

A shame that not one woman in a million can properly | be said to read or write, or understand.

The second recto has Swift's first drafts of some lines from his " To Mr. Gay on his being Steward to the Duke of Queensberry ". These have been published by Dr. George Mayhew in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxvii, no. 1 (September 1954), 257-62.

10. A single leaf 15 × 9·2 cm., folded vertically down the centre. On the verso is an endorsement in Swift's hand, at the top of the righthand half: " Intelligener—— ". The recto is all in his hand :

Intelligener

Beau's dresses

Clergy preaching. bad Engl—&c

Universal Knavery of all handicrafts & | Shopkeepers, and in th Country of all farmers | Cottagers, &c. Scotch worse than Irish, but | worst when partake of both nations

Building, and praise of Pearce

Improvem^{ts}, penal clause, as to time &c | for improvemt. & preservation of trees, & | their kinds—abuse Squires on this head

Knavery the effect of poverty and oppression : they | steal or cheat, as the quickest way to live, when industry | is not encouraged. : therefore they do not stand on credit | or y^{r} buying anoth^{r} time. Sacrifice your custom for | cheating you half a Crown.

That great rogue Badgers [?]

Stuff gowns what I did, and how the weavers acted.

Peter Walters—

Apparently, these were all possible subjects for papers in *The Intelligencer*, but that periodical had probably expired before Swift could use any of the hints. Except for the first item, beaux' dresses, and the seventh, a rogue named Badgers [?], Swift does mention the subjects in other places. The clergy's preaching and use of bad English are discussed in the *Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Enter'd into Holy Orders.*[1] The knavery of Irish artisans and merchants comes out in *Observations, Occasioned by Reading a Paper Entitled, "The Case of the Woollen Manufacturers of Dublin".*[2] Sir Edward Pearce, architect of the new Parliament House begun in Dublin, 1729, is mentioned by Delany in "The Pheasant and the Lark"; in 1730 Pearce gave Swift a copy of Valerius Maximus which is now in the National Library, Dublin.[3] Swift considers the improvement of land and trees in his *Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons* and his *Answer to Several Letters Sent Me from Unknown Hands.*[4] He explains the cause of Irish knavery also in the *Answer to . . . Letters . . . from Unknown Hands.*[5] His advice concerning stuff (i.e. woollen) gowns and weavers is given in the *Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers* and in *Observations, Occasioned by Reading a Paper.*[6] Peter Walter, a notorious English solicitor and estate agent who made a fortune by managing other people's affairs to his own advantage, is named several times in Swift's works and letters, including a poem of ca. 1730.[7] Since most of these references centre on 1729-30, that is probably the date of the notes.

11. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 15·3 × 10·3 cm. (The lower part of the first leaf has been torn away.) The first verso is blank, but the other pages all have notes in Swift's hand, apparently to be used for essays on

[1] Davis, ix. 65.
[2] *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1897-1908), vii. 147-50 (cited below as Temple Scott).
[3] *Poems*, ii. 508.
[4] Temple Scott, vii. 122, 132.
[5] Ibid. pp. 132-3.
[6] Ibid. pp. 137-43, 147-50.
[7] *Poems*, ii. 534 and n. See also Ball, iii. 423 and iv. 417.

Irish affairs. Those on the first recto seem mainly to deal with the population problem and absenteeism:

Not ⌜get th⌝ redress their grievances before they | pass their money bills. ⌜Should⌝ [?], We cannot | pretend to that &c

⌜Leasers way of buying⌝
⌜horses⌝
Not so among us till we can sell them as the Africans do.

Nations encourage marriage

The Engl contempt for absentees.

I speak not this from any regard to their persons.

If they had stayd, an assembly of great revenues might have | prevented some fatal events. I know their contempt well, these | 30 years past &c
Encouraging marriage, as all wise nations did, is an | appendix [?] to th Maxim of people the riches of a | Nation; we ought to discourage it. The wretches we see | with children

The allusions to selling people as Africans do and to encouraging marriage are very close to Swift's remarks on these subjects in *Maxims Controlled in Ireland*; here too is some consideration of absentees, but worded rather differently from the note.[1] All three topics are again briefly touched upon in *The Present Miserable State of Ireland*.[2] The other hints were apparently not used in any composition which has been preserved. The manuscript probably dates from around 1728, the approximate year when *Maxims Controlled* was written.

The second recto contains, mainly, headings and hints for *Maxims Controlled*. Those which have a cross mark after them are developed in the finished essay, but others, not so marked, are used as well. In fact, only the Latin proverb, the two complaints about Parliamentary indifference, and the topic of accidental impediments are not to be found in the piece as published.

Maxims examnd.

⌜Dearness of things⌝ necessary for Life.	×
Lowness of Interest	×
High purchase of Land.	×
Buildings added to the Metropolis	×

[1] Temple Scott, vii. 69-71. [2] Ibid. p. 163.

People the Riches of a Nation. ×

Tax upon Luxury.

Res nolunt diu male administrari

Parlmt not minding any thing printed ; tis but a Pamphl[t]

[Folly of those who argue] from Engl[d], Holl[d], &c

[Whoever would write on] Bedlam, that Society is a good | [thing : Tis otherwise there, they would] burn th house

Accidental and unprecedented administrari

[So if a Legisla[tre]] should form a Scheam for the | [Governm[t] of Bedlam,] and upon th Principle tht Man being | [⌒a. ⌒ a Sociable Creatur,] they ought to go into Councils &c

Parlm[t] not minding Pamphlets, made me write this | when all was over, that they may judge from effects

"Things refuse to be mismanaged long"—the Latin saying—is probably a Renaissance version of a remark by Aristotle,[1] and Swift repeats it on at least three other occasions (two of them, as here, to contradict it).[2] The latest use occurs in a letter of April 1729. The note at the bottom of the page may indicate that Swift had meant to publish this essay during the Irish Parliamentary session of 1729-30 but did not complete it until the end of the session, and perhaps put it aside for that reason, since it did not appear until long after his death.

The second verso has more notes on Irish problems, and may be a continuation of the preceding page. The first idea, that the Irish should wear home-grown wool, is among Swift's most common recommendations, and is urged in his writings from the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, 1720, to the *Modest Proposal* of 1729. Probably, he meant to develop the present note at length in *A Proposal that All the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*, which is an apparently incomplete essay dated 1729, but not published until 1765 ;[3] here too can be found

[1] *Metaphysics*, xii. 10. 6 (1076[a]3-4).

[2] Davis, viii. 180 ; Ball, ii. 239, and iv. 76.

[3] In the volume of Hawkesworth's edition which was compiled by Deane Swift (vol. viii in 4to, 1765, pt. i, pp. 170-6).

expressions of the second, fourth, and last of the hints as marked off below :

Nothing will do but wearing our own growth &c

I have talk[ed] & writt a little on this Subject before

Nev[r] love our Country
I write this on purpose when it is too late | Because there is no arguing with them

Who would live in Irel[d], without a great balance | The can live saving in Engld yet honorable, nor | need invite as here, & have many dishes

August Assembly

Lost all Idea of Liberty

Of those vermin writers too low to answer, yet lye | so horridly of more Clergy in Je. [?] London from Irld | and that if Linnen Scarves hurt Engd we should not wear | them, sure they are not heard[?]. like Rats in a house[?].

These Singularityes of Govm[t] have turned the very | heads of th people, made them think themselves not | upon th foot with others of their own Species, & | a Spirit of Servitude

I own that in Scotld & some Towns in Italy, Interest | is low, & land dear. .but want trade[?].

Bad Seasons a trifle, where are they not ? [1]

12. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 16 × 10·5 cm. For filing, the manuscript was folded again, in the same direction, each page being divided into halves ; it was probably kept with the right half of the second verso outermost, for at the top of that is an endorsement, " Scotch ", in Swift's hand. Sideways, along the left-hand edge of the same page, he has written and scratched out a sentence in his Latino-Anglica : " Prae fora Pierio Theba au mona livedo."

On the first recto, in his hand, are several phrases of " Quilca lingua ", i.e. an artificial language for use at Quilca, Thomas Sheridan's resid·nce. These have been published by Dr. Mayhew,[2] but his analysis does not include the possibility that

[1] This last point is mentioned in a letter of 11 August 1729 from Swift to Pope (Ball, iv. 89-90).

[2] Mayhew, *BJRL*, xxxvi. 423. The interpretation we give of " By Power anger " was supplied by Dr. Mayhew in a recent letter.

they are a kind of charade, the code words being puns on homonyms of the real words. " By Power anger " is " by might wroth ", or " by my troth ". " The Devils Daughtr " may be " Dis' miss ", or " dismiss ". " Shall I Devils House & Seat in Church " is " Shall I Hell pew ", or " ——help you ". " I am Knot upon Scarlet " may be " I am tie red " or " ——tired ". " Mr Hughs's Daughtr " may be " Hugh's lass ", or " useless ". " God of hell and th Island where Juptr was born " is " Dis Crete ", or " discreet ". " A frighten Town " is " a scare city ", or " scarcity ". " Beast with long Ears and A in French " may be " a spaniel ", since Swift himself explains it as " little dog " ; but the connection is obscure.[1]

On the first verso and second recto are Scottish expressions in Swift's hand, already treated by Dr. Mayhew.[2]

13. A leaf 23 × 18·5 cm. This is the most important document in the group, because it contains notes by Swift on English politics in the autumn of 1713, a decisive period in his life. The criticisms which he lists are not recorded elsewhere.

After going in April to Ireland and being installed as Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift had returned, arriving in London 9 September 1713, during the elections for Parliament. In the security and prestige of his new office, he could disengage himself from the glamour of high intrigue. " The familiarity of great Ministers . . . as soon as it ceased to be a vanity . . . began to be a vexation of Spirit." [3] He got little pleasure from his main occupation—trying to prevent Bolingbroke and Oxford from destroying one another.

In April of 1713 the Commissioners of Public Accounts had presented to the Commons a report censuring the management and disposal of the public revenue, including the finances of her majesty's Great Wardrobe. At the end of June, the Commons had debated the expenses and debts of her Civil List. In July, Parliament had addressed the queen, urging that she press all governments " in amity " with her majesty, to refuse to receive the Pretender ; and she had agreed to do so. On 15 September

[1] Cf. *Poems*, iii. 940 and n. 11.
[2] Mayhew, *BJRL*, xxxvi. 418-22.
[3] Ball, ii. 78.

three new Commissioners had been named to the Board of Trade.[1] Around the same time the Earl of Mar was made third Secretary of State, in charge of Scottish affairs; Oxford, the Lord Treasurer, arranged this appointment mainly to take Scottish business out of the hands of his rival, Bolingbroke. Harcourt, the Lord Chancellor, sided with Bolingbroke. Sir George Byng, though distasteful to the Tories (who were still in power), stayed on as Admiral, and was only removed early the next year. The new Parliament did not meet for real business until 2 March 1714.

From Swift's allusions to these circumstances, one presumes that he wrote the manuscript in the autumn of 1713. Its purpose may be guessed from the tone of hostility toward policies for which Oxford was held responsible and from the use of the third person pronoun—" affronting him ", " Touch his Hon^{r} ", etc. Swift evidently planned to initiate a conversation with Oxford and present Bolingbroke's grievances, and this paper was either his *aide-mémoire* or a draft of a memorial to be left with the Treasurer.

Speedy & pressing Instances

Two Addresses from. H. Co last Session. 1st to desire that all Princes in amity | with Qu. not to suff^{r} Pret^{dr} to be in their Dominions. 2^{d} to give particu^{lr} Ord^{rs} | to prevent Expor^{tn} of Wooll. Answ^{r} to 1st that it should be don. to 2^{d} that Her | Maj^{sty} had given Orders alredy. Yet neithr yet done—Dang^{r} of th 1st it will make us | be cald Jacobites; it must be known, in all Gazettes; so it will be known it has not been | yet done: 2^{d} by Proclamation so all will know it. The Scr^{tys} do it unmistakably, yet to | be done in Council & he to direct Scr^{tys} how to be done——

The great Exceedings in every Article of the publick Expence, for want of timely | Orders to break th Forces both by Sea & Land

---

The want of concerting matters last Parlm^{t}, occasioned th sitting of it longer, had like to | have broken all in pieces &c. the same apprehended for next Year

---

No estimate made of Qu—s expence, nor Receits, to proportion one to toth^{r}.

No Orders of any kind whatsoever, given till the last Extremity, w^{ch} puts us under th | necessity of passing many great Seals by immed^{te} Warr^{t}, w^{ch} shou^{d} not be &c——

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[1] *Journal of the Commission for Trade and Plantations*, 1709-15, p. 469.

The Commission for 3 Commiss^{rs} of Trade passt after 2 Commissn^{rs} were elected ; & the | 3^{d} saved it only by one day.

Not communication in things absolutely necessary to th Service.

Appointing L^{d} Mar Sc^{rty} of Scot^{ld} without agreeing with him or Sec^{rtys} on what foot it | was to be the like with th Chanc^{lr} of Scotld without consulting Ld Chan^{llr}. both supposed | to be agst Law, as ⌈le⌉ making th Union less an Union. Mar upon th Foot of an English Scr^{ty} | yet not to decide.. this will cause Dissention. between th Scr^{tys}. This will raise th Scotch Demands——

⌈No⌉ Oeconomy th ⌈Secrty⌉ Secret of our Governm^{t} no Oeconomy &c

Insolence of a Commissionr of Hackny-Coaches, affronting him to his Face

The Fleets th Admiralty thô Toryes governd by Bing : besides sevrll things thy cannot do without yo[?]

Touch his Hon^{r} & Ambition as concernd &c

The implication of these memoranda is that though Swift inclined toward Bolingbroke's analysis of the situation, he nonetheless remained loyal to Oxford. If the arguments were presented to the Treasurer, they had a negligible effect. " I am heartily weary of Courts and Ministers, and politics, for several reasons impossible to tell you ", Swift wrote to a friend ; the main reason was that the breach between his two leaders had gone too far to be closed.[1]

14. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 15·5 × 9·8 cm. A crease down the centre of each page shows that the manuscript was folded again for filing. At the top of the right-hand column thus formed on the second verso is an endorsement, scratched out but rewritten, in Swift's hand :

⌈Eng⌉ Bulls⌉
Engl. Bulls
⌈y⌉ ψ. 15

The contents seem thus described as English bulls, to counter the traditional jokes about Irish bulls. The first recto and verso have indeed a number of bulls made by Englishmen, and all except the last are in Swift's hand. These notes have been published by Dr. Mayhew.[2]

[1] Ball, ii. 69.

[2] Mayhew, *BJRL*, xxxvi. 424-32.

15. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 9·8 × 6·6 cm. The second recto and verso are blank. The first recto and verso contain Latin notes, in Swift's tiniest handwriting, upon the *Annales*, *Historia*, *Germania*, and *Agricola* of Tacitus, with colloquial English equivalents for some of the Latin expressions. Since Swift supplies page numbers for a few subjects, it is possible to identify the copy he used. In the sale catalogue of his library it is number 46, a starred item—that is, one which he annotated: *C. Cornelius Tacitus iuxta correctius exemplar editus*, Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1649, 12°.[1]

In the following transcription, where Swift has omitted or mistaken the book and chapter numbers, we have added them between square brackets.

Tac. l. 1.

[I. lxiv] Germani quantū aquarum circumsurgentibus | iugis oritur, vertere in subjecta.; mersaqꝫ humo | et obruto qd effectū operis, duplicatus militî | labor. P. 44.

L. 2 [VI. i] Tiberij libidines erga pueros, . Tunc | primum ignota ante vocabula reperta sunt | sellariorum et spintriarum, ex foeditate | loci ac multiplici patientia.

Lib. 6. [xxii] egregie de praedestinatione. P. 221 | [xxviii]—Fabula de ave Phoenice. P. 224 | [xxix]—Condemnati majestatis &c, qus[11] vim sibi [inferl | intulerint, sepulchrū iis et Testamentii | permissum, sina carnifice interfecti utrumqꝫ | prohibebatur | [xlvi]—Tiberius solitus eludere medicorum artes, | atqꝫ eos qui post 30 annos alieni consilij | indigerent ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia | vel noxia.

l. 13 [xv] |

Ludicrum regnū lusu sortientium; ⸌festis saturno diebus.⸍ Angl. | Questions & Commands.[2] Pag. 310.[3] Ann.

L. 14. [XIII. lviii] P. 340

Arbor Ruminalis ⸌per⸍ 840 annos arescente trunco | prodigij loco habitum, donec, revixit &c.

L. 15

[xxxviii-xli] 401. Roma incendiū optime descriptum | [xlvi] 406. Populus, novarū rerū cupiens, pavidusqꝫ || Hist. L. 1 [xxxvi] Iacere Oscula. to fling kisses. | [? xxxix] Studia. Parties. (I think)

De mor. Germ.

[xix] Nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et | corrumpi. saeculum vocatur. &c. plusqꝫ ibi | boni mores valent, quam alibi bonae leges.

Vita Agricolæ

[xli] Pessimum inimicorum genus, Laudantes

[1] Sir Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 2 of the sale catalogue.

[2] A game.

[3] P. 311; Swift was wrong.

16. Two sheets of writing paper folded to make four leaves 11·3 × 6·6 cm. The third recto and verso and the fourth recto are blank; the other pages have Latin and English notes and comments on Suetonius in Swift's hand. We have added, between square brackets, the book number, the emperor's name (where necessary), and the chapter number.

E Suetonio.

Tiberius

[III. xxxv] Jurisjurandi gratiam facere. to dispense with it.

[xxxvii] Romae castra constituit, quibus Cohortes ante per | hospitia dispersae continerentur. Barracks

[lix] Oderint dum probent (Sc. Vulgus)
[lxviii. 1-2] He was left-handed, could break a boys forehead | with a Fillip, could see for a while in th dark. |
[lxix] cuncta fato agi credidit . . yet afraid of Thunder |

[IV. 1. 3] Caligula, per quietem, pelagi Speciem secum | colloquentem videre visus est

[V. ii-iii] Claudius fere stultus aliquando sapiens |
[xxix] Governd by his Wives & favrite Liberti. did | all things by them without knowing any thing &c |
[xxxii] Meditavit edictū quo veniā darat flatum | crepitūqȝ ventris in convivio emittendi; cum | periclitatū quendam prae pudore reperisset
[xxxiii. 2] De arte alas ludendi librō emisit. |
[xxxiv] Crudelis natura &c
Omnes fere Imperatores historias aut poemata | scripserunt. |
[xli. 3] Claudius tres litteras addidit, quae in plerisqȝ | libris tunc extulerint: (nunc credo perditas)

[VI. xxiii. 2] Nero cantare publice amavit. cantante eo ne | necessaria causa excedere theatro licebat. igitur | multi taedio audiendi muris desiliebant, aut | morte simulata funere elati: [VII. (Galba) i] ultimus familiae Caesarū

[Galba] Pangere to plant
Loca Italiae saepissime de Caelo tacta
[xiv. 2] Avarus Galba. governd by 3 favorits ill men | who putt him upon ill actions, &c occisus | conspiratione &c || [xxii] Libidinosus in maros praeduros et exoletos. | [VII. (Otho) ii]—Otho, juvenis solitus noctibus vagari, ac quemqȝ | obviorum potulentū aut invalidum, distento sago | impositū in sublime jactare. [vi] a militibus Impertr | Salutatus Galbam interfici jubet, [viii] [po] paulo post, | Vitellius a Germ. militibus Impr electus. [ix-x] Otho | belli [meditatus], in eū suscipiens ac semel per | Legatū victus, [xi] [od] ad civile bellū evitandum | seipsū pugione interficit 95 imperi die. | [xii. 1] [Vitellius]. Scambus erat. munditiarū muliebriū | paene. a Nice Beau., yet died bravely | Vitellius. |

A favorite Libertus very frequent among | Emprs & Great Persons.
[VII. (Vitellius) ii. 4] Vitellij pater amore Libertinae infamis, cujus | salivis melle commixtis quotidie arterias | & fauces pro remedio fovebat
[x. 3] Vitellij vere Infamis, optime olere [?] occisum hostem | necessarie autem civem. [xiii. 1] Helluo & saevus | Vomitu usus erat quo saepius silum [?] sumeret. | [xv. 1] Exercitus ab eo descivit, et in Vespasioni verba | juravit, [xvii. 2] captus, et multa ignominia ad Gemonias | ductus, ibi excarnificatus
Vespasianus: Post Neronem Imperatores a militibus | electi— | [VIII. (Vespasian) iii] Caenidem quandã habuit paene justae uxoris loco. | [iv] A preferment of th greatest men, sacerdotia | accepit: & it was onely pro tempore
[iv. 5] Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans | Opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaea | profecti rerũ potirentur. Id Judaei ad se || protrahentes rebellarunt, Vespasianus de se | intellexit ut ⌜Jud⌝ Syriae Legato. [verisimile | de Christo interpretandum] [1] |
[v. 6] Apud Judaeam unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus | conjectus in vincula, continuo asseverat, &c | Vespasiane cum Impratre solveratur |
[vii. 2-3] Inspuendo oculos caecum restituit ⌜alterum⌝ | delil: crure ⟨alterum⟩, calce contingendo curavit; (ie) | and a blind man by spitting in his face, and | a lame man by vouchsafing him a kick. |
[xvi. 1] Pecuniae cupidus, sola ejus culpa. absolutiones | innoxijs, honores etiam vendidit. [xvi. 2] Procuratoribus | ditescere permisit, ut post condemnaret: dicebatur | ijs ut spongijs uti &c. sed male partis optime | usus erat. [xx] Vultu veluti nitentis (ie) straining | to sh— [xxi. 1] The Courtier attended his Levee while | he dresst himself: mane salutabant &c | [xxii] Dicacitatis scurrilis ac sordidae in jocande | praetextatis verbis utebatur. Angl. bawdy | [xxiii. 4] Prima morbi accessione, joco dixit: ut puto | deus fio. alludens ad Caesares qui post mortem | dei et divi vocabantur. [xxiv] moritur annõ ⌜aetatis⌝ | ugen [?] ⌜sexagin⌝ 69. dixit Imperatorem stantem mori | oportere.
[VIII. (Titus) viii. 1] Titus ⟨fil.⟩ neminem passus abiret ristem. amici | diẽ perdidi &c [xi] optimus Princeps post | bienniũ moritur 41 aetatis anno. |
[VIII. (Domitian) viii. 3] Domitianus Titi frater incesta Virg. Vestalium | priora et posteriora prinivit. || [xv. 3] inter caeteras diei fabulas: among th rest | of the days news or Chat. |
[xvii. 1-3] Occisus a Stephano alijs qꝫ conspirantibus, | anno aetat. 45. imperij autem 15. |

[xix] Manus dispassa

Sagittando peritus. [xx] Epistolas orationes & | edicta alieno formebat ingenio.

[? Tacitus *Ann.* XV. xliv] Pervigilium. a Vigil. Posca. a Potion of Vineg[r] & water | or of small wine. |
Publicum Quadragesimae—a Revenue of fourtieth Parts.

[1] Swift's brackets.

On the fourth verso is an estimate of Suetonius written by Swift in Latin :

Judiciũ

Authr hic superstitioni datus ; vere biographus | Actiones minime describit, qua autem ad mores | et personarũ notitiam pertinent minute nec | infacete pingit. intellectu difficilius, ob innumera | de legibus et consuetudinibus Romanis quae leviter | percurrit ac velut intelligentibus narrat, sed | quae nunc vere explicanda credo, non dico de | omnibus sed parte [?] majore [?]. Draws all things | to Superstition : as Signs of men living longer | & of their Deaths, nugae——

17. A letter in Swift's hand on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 18·2 × 14·8 cm. It is in Latino-Anglica—answering one of 16 July 1735 from Thomas Sheridan —and it has been published by Dr. Mayhew.[1]

The other manuscripts in English MS. 659 have no apparent connection with Jonathan Swift, and the handwriting of none of them has been identified. For completeness, however, they will be briefly described.

18. Two leaves 19·5 × 15·3 cm. Covering the four pages is a prose piece entitled, " A Digression or whimsical Dedication to Florella ", beginning, " Of all Men that ever attempted to please the Fair sure none is less fit for that Office than the whimsical Orondates ! ". It is signed at the end " Orondates ", followed by " D S ", which has been crossed out.

19. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 18·5 × 11·3 cm. On the first recto is a poem in rhymed couplets, beginning, " Arise, O George, why stoopst Thou, O Awake ", and ending, " Take Heart & like thy Ministry resign ". There is an unintelligible note inverted at the bottom of the first verso ; the other pages are blank.

20. One leaf 18·5 × 12 cm. Filling both sides is a poem in rhyming couplets, headed, " Epilogue | Designed to be spoken by M^rs^ W : : n in y^e^ Character | of a Voluntier ". After the stage direction, " Enter reading a Gazette ", it begins, " Plague on all Cowards, say I—Why bless my Eyes ! " The last line is,

[1] Mayhew, *BJRL*, xxxvi. 432-48 ; for variants of verses in it, see Mayhew, *HLQ*, pp. 148-52.

" And British Rights be saved by British Beauty ". References to the Forty-five show that the lines were written in 1745, perhaps for Peg Woffington, though there is no sign that they were ever used. The authorship is unknown. At the bottom of the verso, upside down, Samuel Johnson has written, " Epilogue to Cato ".

21. One leaf 18·7 × 11·5 cm. On the recto is a poem in quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter rhyming *abab*. The first line is, " How can You think y^{e} Fair will change "; the last line, " And every grace inspire ". On the verso, inverted, are a few casual letters and some figures added up.

22. Two leaves 18·3 × 15 cm. On the first and second rectos is a fragment of a tale the title of which is written on the first verso, " Amanda & Celia ". Among the characters named are Damon, Merope, Colin, Flora, Comus, Pallas. At the bottom of the second verso is an incomplete poem in octosyllabic couplets, beginning, " Haste, My Dear Colin, come away ". The last complete line is, " We'll Laugh & Sing & Sport & Play ".

23. One leaf 18·7 × 17 cm. On the recto is an unidentified poem in heroic couplets, headed, " On a Young Lady's Removal from y^{e} Circle of her Acquaintance | in y^{e} City to y^{e} Court end of y^{e} Town ". It begins, " Soon as y^{e} Sun withdraws his genial Ray " and ends, " Engage our ffriendship & adorn her Youth ". At the top of the verso Samuel Johnson has written, " Verses Engl."

24. Two leaves (a folded sheet) 15·2 × 9·3. On each recto are three quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter, rhyming *abab*. On the first recto the opening words of the title are illegible; the remaining words are, " to D^{r} Cheny by R Winter ". The first line is illegible; the last is, " Thy patients then may Live ". At the bottom of the page is an endorsement, " Three famous Physitians ". The second recto is headed, " D^{r} Cheney's Answer ". The first line is, " My System's all my own ", and the last, " That You yo^{r}self may live ". The versos are blank.

25. Two leaves 17·3 × 13·4 cm. On all four pages are notes on the Jewish sabbath. The first recto is headed, " The Jews manner of observing their Sabbath ".

Originally, the loosely-tied packet must have included other items besides the twenty-five listed here. Three at least may be identified. Among some Thrale-Piozzi manuscripts found at Bachygraig, Flintshire, in 1935, were letters which complement No. 5 printed above and were apparently once bundled with it. Two are from Lord Orrery, one to Swift and one to Mrs. Whiteway; the other is from Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway.[1]

The letter from Orrery to Swift is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 20 × 15·8 cm. The heading has been cut out of the first leaf and the signature of the second; but the letter was probably written from Caledon, the Earl's country estate in Ireland. The second verso, otherwise blank, is endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway's hand, " Lord Orrery | May 39 ". Some of the allusions are not obvious. The word play upon " Orange " refers to William III, to whose " glorious " memory the Whigs customarily drank toasts. Swift jokingly called his housekeeper " Sir Robert Walpole ". " Your Mistress " is probably an allusion to Lady Orrery.

> Alass dear Sir! I have been an Age racking my | Brain for a Theme to write to you upon: at last | a most loyal Thesis is come into my Head. I | write from my Orangerie, and I write about an | Orange. Certainly the best Oranges (I mean pre-| serv'd ones for the true Orange is rotten in Westm^{r} | Abbey) are the produce of your Table. such | is your desert, and so thoroughly do I taste it. Send | me the Receipt then to imitate You in eating, not | drinking, glorious Oranges: whose memory You see | is `as´ sacred ⌜with⌝ to me, as to any of the Hanover Club. ||
>
> I appeal to M^{rs} Whiteway (to whom I beg my | Orangelical Service) if you did not promise me | this Favour: and I hope by the means of S^{r} R. | Walpole to obtain it. Lady Orrery joins her | Entreaties to mine, that you `would´ be so good to send | us the Receipt as soon as you can: Had my | Grandmother liv'd I don't doubt but I should | have been able to preserve as well as eat | Oranges, but as the Case stands I am only vers'd | in the latter Art: and your Mistress must supply || the rest. She is still in Love with You, tho' You | have turn'd her of to me, who can only talk of | You, not like You—You know the old End of | a letter, the Post is just going, which really hap- | pens at present to be true: Heaven preserve | You in Health, & may you always remember your

[1] The two former are now in the possession of Mr. James L. Clifford; the last was owned by the late Mrs. Herbert Evans of Brynbella, St. Asaph, North Wales.

Lady Orrery's letter to Mrs. Whiteway is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 22·3 × 18·5 cm. The second recto and verso are blank.

Caledon, March 17th 1739/40

D^{r} Madam
The Remembering two of your Freinds Buried in | the Country, is the same kind of charity as thinking | of those already in their Graves: We are at Caledon | almost as quiet as if we were under the great | Monument in S^{t} Patricks Church. And except the | Dean yourself & a few more, desire to be as little | thought, or spoakn of as those who lye there. | It is very true I told the Dean, that after Christmass | we should pay our Duties to him at Dublin. But | I can give you a far better, & juster reason | than that you assign, which is the improvement | of this Place, neglected for above Twenty Years, || and tho' it be our own, I must say wants for no | Natural Beauties. Besides neither my Lord or | I were ever fond of City diversions, & we are so | unpolite as to find in this retirement, domestick | amusements enough even to make the long Winter | Evenings, far from tedious. |
I should have begun this Letter with thanks | to you & `to´ the Dean, for `the´ Receipt to preserve | Oranges, but that as well as my Complyments to M^{rs} | Swift,[1] will `I hope´ be accepted of in this Place. |
I am Madam

Your
most Obedient
most humble Servant
Margaret Orrery.

The letter from Lord Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves. Along the bottom edge of the second verso is an endorsement, upside down, in Mrs. Whiteway's hand: "Lord Orrery". The Earl alludes ironically to events in the War of the Austrian Succession and to the affairs of the royal family. We must suppose (without determining his success) that he meant to tease Swift, who paraded an indifference to political events and royal scandal. The comic postscripts, the italicized bad grammar, and the puns look also like hopeful appeals to Swift's sensibility.

Caledon: May 12th 1740:

Madam,
Lady Orrery desires me to enquire how You and | Your Family are in Health, but as I am in great | haste You will forgive me for not adding one | word more than that I am, Madam,

Your most obedient humble
Servant.
Orrery.

[1] See n. 3, page 371.

P.S. I am much obliged to you, Madam, for the Re- | ceipt of the Oranges and the Directions to make them | so good. |
P.S. I hope `that´ You have had some Rain at Dublin, | and when you have done with it that you will | send it to Us.
P.S. Pray, Madam turn over the Leaf. ||
P.S. I wish you Joy upon the taking of Porto Bello, | & upon the Iron Cannon being flung into the Sea. |
P.S. I had almost forgott to wish You Joy of the Princess | Mary's Marriage with the Prince of Hesse. |
P.S. I hope the Hessian Troops are to come over with | his Highness. |
P.S. They *shall* make a fine Review: I am sorry | I *will* not not [*sic*] be there. |
P.S. I hope my old Nurse is well: I have gott a better | and a younger now, but I am never sick: so she has not | once had the honours which I allowed my former | Nurse. |
P.S. I condole with You on the Princess Amelias re- | maining still an unmarried Princess, whilst her youn- | ger Sister flies from the Nunnery at S[t] James's to the Palace | of Hesse.
P.S. I hope *for* to see a fine Summer. ||
P.S. having sent you all my hopes *will* I send you | some of my fears?
P.S. My fine Peacock is *kill't*, whether I *will* be able | to find out who *kill't* him, or not, is uncertain I fear.
P.S. One of our Hogs I fear will dye for want of Rain | to make Mire and Filth.
P.S. Good news amidst all my Apprehensions, They say ⌜it⌝ She is better having lain upon the Cook-maids Muckingder | all Night.
P.S. I fear You will be angry at my writing so | short a Letter, therefore I must add a word or two | more by way of Postscript.
P.S. The Frogs croak for want of Rain louder than | ever they croaked for want of a King. |
P.S. *Shall* Bishop Trevor come over soon, or hold | his Bishoprick in Commendam?
P.S. Our Curate is the greatest Punster in the North. ||
P.S. When the [?] ⌜Duck⌝ `Hen´ brought our seven chickens, he | said Pyes take them, for I love Chicken Pye. |
P.S. I am called away to the Death of a Snail, who eats | all my Hesperian Fruit: so Madam You will | forgive this hasty *Scrap* of a *Scrawl*.

ARTHUR YOUNG, AGRICULTURALIST AND TRAVELLER, 1741-1820. SOME BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

By John G. Gazley, Ph.D.
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"YOUNG'S influence on the development of British agriculture from 1770 to 1820 can hardly be exaggerated". Thus wrote G. D. Amery in his article on Arthur Young for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.[1] One of the greatest agricultural historians, N. S. B. Gras, has called him "the prophet" of the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century and has stated, "It is the lot of few private citizens to be personally so interesting and nationally so important."[2] Likewise Lord Ernle declared Young to be "the first of English agricultural writers" and analysed his contributions as follows:

> To him, more than to any other individual, were due the dissemination of new ideas on farming, the diffusion of the latest results of observation and experiment, the creation of new agencies for the interchange of experiences the establishment of farmers' clubs, ploughing matches, and agricultural societies and shows.[3]

In the most recent serious evaluation of Young's work, G. E. Fussell, the outstanding authority on British agricultural history, has summed him up in these words:

> . . . he became the prophet of an improved agriculture of such industry that it is wonderful to relate. How he succeeded in finding the time to do all he did is puzzling, but he did it and so left an indelible mark on the history of his time, as well as a history of that time so far as its then major industry, farming, is concerned.[4]

Impressive as the above consensus is, some qualifications must be made. Every account dwells on Young's failure as a

[1] The most complete compilation of Arthur Young's writings, including his articles in the *Annals of Agriculture*, is also by G. D. Amery, "The Writings of Arthur Young", *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, lxxxv (1925), 1-31.

[2] N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture* (2nd edn., 1940), p. 213.

[3] R. E. P. Ernle (R. E. Prothero), *English Farming Past and Present*, pp. 195, 197.

[4] G. E. Fussell, "My Impressions of Arthur Young", *Agricultural History*, xvii (1943), 144.

practical farmer. What could be more devastating than the very frank description of Young's farm in Hertfordshire by an intelligent young Scotchman in May 1770, the very year in which Young published his mammoth *Course of Experimental Agriculture* with its account of his two thousand agricultural experiments?

> Came to Mr. Youngs at Bradmore farm near North mims. Mr. Young very discreetly show'd me his offices, implements of husbandry, & his fields that are experimentally occupied. . . . In the yard I took nottice [*sic*] of a large muck hill turned up, and in very good order; but upon nearer examination, found that almost two thirds of it was clay which had been carried into the yard before winter, & had been turn'd up together with the dung in spring, but so far from incorporating with it, that it was run into lumps ten times tougher & more stubborn than when carried into the yard. His implements of husbandry are so many & various, & their several uses & perfections discrib'd with such Volubility of tongue, that I can say little about them . . . his Crops of Corn I did not see any & one field of Lucerne he show'd me sown broad Cast 20 lb to the acre, but instead of mowing four times, I doubt much whether it will ever mow once. . . . A field of cinquefoin [*sic*] much in the state of the Lucerne, and anoyr of Burnet very little better. . . . [1]

Nor can one point to any outstanding technical change in agriculture which can be attributed to Young. Rather he was the popularizer of the new agriculture, the publicist of the Agricultural Revolution. By the very bulk of his writings he could not fail to make some impression. Between 1767 and 1774 thirteen works on agriculture came from his pen, totalling twenty volumes. Eleven of the thirteen works went through more than one edition. From 1784 until 1808 Young was the editor of the *Annals of Agriculture*, which ran to forty-five volumes, approximately one-fourth of which he wrote himself. Between 1794 and 1809 he made surveys of six English counties for the Board of Agriculture. In such a mass of writing, much was inevitably mediocre, and some hardly more than pot-boiling.

Several characteristics of Young's writings, however, made them both popular and significant. In the first place, he could express himself clearly and forcibly. For the most part he did not take pains to polish his style and usually when he tried it

[1] A. C. Brown, *The Wilsons. A Banffshire Family of Factors*, p. 157. The author was John Wilson, 1746-1816, who had been sent into England on an agricultural tour by the Earl of Findlater.

became turgid or stilted. But at his best, Young's English was not only vigorous and clear, but witty and epigrammatic. It is not surprising that he should have been so widely quoted. His style was essentially journalistic in the best sense of that term. A few examples must suffice. In his earliest important work, *The Farmer's Letters*, he urged the nobility to bring into cultivation the waste lands, and continued, " . . . never forget that there is fifty times more true lustre in the waving ears of corn, which cover a formerly waste acre, than in the most glittering star that shines at *Almack's* ".[1] In his *Political Arithmetic*, a work of which Young was justly proud, he summed up his theories of population succinctly :

> My principles are these : I mean to befriend population, and I think the only way to do it is to promote every branch of national industry, and never throw out any restrictions, laws, or rules with a view to population—ever let it be a secondary object flowing from wealth, if you would in fact have it the first.[2]

Very much later in 1803 Young answered an attack by Malthus on his proposals for allotments for the poor by pouring contempt on the only hope which Malthus held out for human improvement, namely, moral restraint : " And on what is the success of this revolution made to depend ? why on young men and women avoiding matrimony and keeping themselves chaste without it ! ! ! " [3]

A second reason for Young's influence as a writer lay in the fact that he practically invented the agricultural tour. Travel literature was certainly popular in the eighteenth century, but no one before Young had published travel literature which had the fundamental aim of giving agricultural information. Without doubt Young's most popular and significant writings were his " tours ". There were thirteen volumes of them—nine on England, two on Ireland, and two on France. In addition the *Annals of Agriculture* contain more than a thousand pages of

[1] A. Young, *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England* (3rd edn., Dublin, 1768), p. 306.

[2] A. Young, *Political Arithmetic* (1774), pp. 269-70.

[3] A. Young, " On the Application of the Principles of Population to the Question of Assigning Land to Cottages ", *Annals of Agriculture*, xli (1804), 221. This article, " by the editor ", was missed by Mr. Amery in his compilation.

other tours taken through England and Wales.[1] Never did a man love travel more than did Arthur Young; seldom has a man travelled to better advantage. His main purpose was always the same—to study agriculture. The tours described common agricultural practices as well as the experiments and improvements of such "spirited" cultivators as Coke of Norfolk or Robert Bakewell. He always secured as many letters of introduction as possible to the important people who could furnish the necessary information. His method was to take copious notes on the spot, which he wrote up, presumably in the evening, in the form of a diary. He was interested in everything which pertained to agriculture—land tenures, size of holdings, rents, prices and wages, crops and their rotations, cattle, implements, and farm buildings. But Young was a man of very broad interests, and he did not hesitate to comment in his tours upon natural scenery, the state of roads and the character of inns, even the parks and mansions of the nobility and the pictures in those mansions. That Young was genuinely interested in all these things no one can doubt who has read the tours, but he was shrewd enough also to realize that his agricultural observations would be more palatable if intermixed with more general information. The adulatory description of a mansion was also a kind of recompense for the entertainment and information which he had received.

At the end of his more important tours Young introduced a long summary of the agricultural information which he had

[1] Five of the tours which appeared in the *Annals* have been reprinted by the London School of Economics and Political Science as No. 14 in its series, "Scarce Tracts in Economic and Political Science", under the title *Tours in England and Wales Selected from the Annals of Agriculture* (1932). Unfortunately one paragraph in the one page introduction contains several errors. It reads in part as follows: "The earliest of them, the Welsh Tour, appeared in the *Annals* in 1792 but was based on observations made over fifteen years before. The last of them, which contains an interesting account of Hull and district, belongs to Young's County-survey period. The other three belong to the period of the French Tour." The Welsh Tour actually appeared in 1787 rather than 1792. Nor is it the earliest of them, for the Shropshire Tour was made in the spring of 1776 while Young was on the way to Ireland, and the Welsh Tour in the autumn of 1776 after his return from Ireland. Hence only two of the Tours belonged to the period of the French Tour.

obtained. Thus the entire fourth volume of *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* is devoted to summary, which includes the average production of grain crops per acre, tables of rents, prices and wages, chapters on the newer crops—potatoes, cabbage, and clover—the proper amount of capital necessary to stock a farm, sections on tithes and poor rates, and a final chapter on the state of the roads. It is not surprising that Young's tours, above all his other writings, have furnished the social and economic historian with mines of information which have been used to support every possible thesis.

Probably Young's best writing is to be found in his tours. The nine volumes of English tours, which covered in succession the southern, northern, and eastern counties, and which appeared in the years 1768, 1769,[1] and 1771, contain some very dull pages. Nevertheless, interspersed with the dry facts of agricultural statistics are many fine descriptions and apt characterizations. For instance, in visiting one country house he displayed his consistent contempt for Rubens: "Nymphs in this master's stile; not tempting ones."[2] Again, he described the road through Wakefield as "so bad, that it ought to be indicted",[3] and another road as "fit only for a goat to travel".[4] The Northern Tour is notable for Young's detailed descriptions of such natural beauties as Teesdale and the Lake District. His final comment on leaving Keswick reflected the romantic mood of his day: "What are the effects of a *Louis*'s magnificence to the play of nature in the vale of *Keswick!* How trifling the labours of art to the mere sport of nature!"[5] In the same tour Young displayed much interest in the developments traditionally associated with the Industrial Revolution, the Crawley iron

[1] The date 1770 appears on the title page of the first edition of *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* and is the date given by Mr. Amery. However, its publication was noted in the December issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1769, xxxix, 600. There is also a letter from the Earl of Holdernesse to Young, dated 8 December 1769, in which he states that he has already seen the work. Cf. B[ritish] M[useum], Add. MS. 35, 126, fol. 66.

[2] A. Young, *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* (2nd edn., 2nd issue, London, 1771), ii. 78. This was a picture at Duncombe Park.

[3] Ibid. iv. 424.

[4] Ibid. iv. 427. This was the road to Askrig.

[5] Ibid. iii. 127.

works and the prepared roadbeds for coal wagons, the cotton industries of Manchester, Josiah Wedgwood's potteries, and especially the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal. His description of the aqueduct over the Irwell at Barton Bridge is worth quoting :

> The effect of coming at once on to *Barton Bridge*, and looking *down* upon a large river, with barges of great burthen towing along it ; and *up* to another river, hung in the air, with barges sailing upon it, form altogether a scenery somewhat like enchantment. . . .[1]

Lack of space prevents any detailed analysis of his other English tours or of his Irish travels. It can only be pointed out that the tour through the eastern counties is confined much more strictly to agricultural subjects than the northern tour, while the Irish tour is notable for his attacks on the evils under which Ireland suffered and especially for his sympathy with the oppressed tenant farmers.

Young's greatest work, *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, appeared in 1792. It is upon these French travels that Young's reputation as a man of letters rests. The first volume, which consists of his diary for these trips, surely ranks among the greatest travel books ever written. His sprightly journalistic style reached its height in this work. Of course he travelled in France at just the right time. No other single work has been more frequently cited as a source for the causes of the French Revolution and for its early history. Again a very few short quotations must suffice to show why this book has been so often re-edited. On the Languedoc Canal : " Here Lewis XIV thou are truly great ! "[2] On the inn at St. Geronds : " . . . the most execrable receptacle of filth, vermin, impudence, and imposition that ever exercised the patience, or wounded the feelings of a traveller."[3] On some new enclosures of poor sandy land near Dunkirk : " The magic of PROPERTY turns sand to gold."[4] On the pre-steam channel crossing : " 14 hours for reflection in a vehicle that does not allow one power to reflect."[5]

[1] A. Young, *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* (2nd edn., 2nd issue, London, 1771), iii. 219-20.

[2] A. Young, *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (Dublin, 1793), i. 65.

[3] Ibid. i. 80. [4] Ibid. i. 153. [5] Ibid. i. 213.

On the proposal for a written constitution in France, " . . . as if a constitution was a pudding to be made by a receipt." [1] On viewing the experimental grounds of the Royal Agricultural Society in Paris : " What a sad thing for philosophical husbandmen that God Almighty created such a thing as couch (*triticum repens*)." [2] On showing some French friends how haymaking was done in England : " . . . such hot politicians !—it is well they did not set the stack on fire." [3] On expressing his disgust with the stupidity of the French merchants at a *table d'hôte* " Take the mass of mankind, and you have more good sense in half an hour in England than in half a year in France—Government ! Again :—all—all—is government." [4] On the wild rumours in provincial France in 1789 : " Thus it is in revolutions, one rascal writes, and an hundred thousand fools believe." [5]

A vigorous English style and the intrinsic merit of his agricultural tours were thus two reasons for Young's influence as a writer. Equally important was the fact that he became the leading spokesman for the agricultural interests. From the very beginning there could be no doubt where his primary loyalty lay. In the first chapter of his first book Young had written, " Agriculture is beyond all doubt the foundation of every other art, business, or profession : it has therefore been the ideal policy of every wise and prudent people to encourage it to the utmost." [6] He reiterated such sentiments throughout the vast body of his writings, and never deviated from them. The encouragement of agriculture would always redound to the national benefit. He consistently advocated the export bounty on corn, even when in every other respect he had become a supporter of *laissez-faire*. He opposed tithes as a hindrance to agriculture. In 1787 and 1788 Young fought vigorously but in vain on behalf of the wool growers against a bill intended to tighten up the prohibition on the export of raw wool.[7] It was at this time that Young urged

[1] A. Young, *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (Dublin, 1793), i. 260.

[2] Ibid. i. 240. [3] Ibid. i. 268. [4] Ibid. i. 283.

[5] Ibid. i. 300. [6] Young, *The Farmer's Letters*, p. 3.

[7] He published two pamphlets against the bill : *The Question of Wool Truly Stated* (1788) ; *A Speech on the Wool Bill, that might have been spoken in the*

the agricultural interests to organize in order to resist more effectively the encroachments of the mercantile and manufacturing interests. In 1811 and 1812 he opposed the famous Report of the Bullion Committee which had advocated the resumption of specie payments. Young argued that a return to hard money would lower prices and hence impair the prosperity of agriculture.[1] Most important of all, he was a life-long advocate of enclosures as conducive to improved agriculture and to the cultivation of waste lands. He strongly supported the repeated efforts of the Board of Agriculture to secure the passage of a General Enclosure Bill which would reduce the costs and facilitate the process. Until nearly sixty years old he was completely blind to the deleterious effects of enclosures upon the poor, but after his religious conversion he endeavoured to safeguard the interests of the poor by giving them allotments to raise potatoes and keep a cow. No statement of Young's has been more frequently quoted than the following on the effects of enclosure upon the poor: "... the fact is, that by nineteen enclosure bills in twenty they are injured, in some greatly injured."[2] Such a conclusion did not mean that Young had become an enemy to enclosures, but only that some consideration should be given to the interests of the poor. He had extended his conception of the agricultural interest to include the cottars and labourers. Certain it is that no Englishman could have been chosen in 1793 as Secretary to the newly established Board of Agriculture who would have been regarded as more completely identified with the interests of agriculture than Arthur Young.

All the more surprising is it that a definitive biography of the greatest English agricultural writer has never been written.

House of Commons (1788). Volumes vi-x of the *Annals of Agriculture* contain nearly 500 pages devoted to the wool bill. His activity in Suffolk is reflected in the files of the *Bury and Norwich Post*.

[1] A. Young, *An Enquiry into the Progressive Value of Money in England* (1812). This was also issued as No. 270 of the *Annals* in the rare vol. xlvi of that work.

[2] *Annals of Agriculture*, xxxvi (1801), 538. This is taken from his famous pamphlet, *An Inquiry into the Propriety of Applying Wastes to the Better Maintenance and Support of the Poor* (1801), which first appeared in vol. xxxvi of the *Annals*, pp. 497-658.

Perhaps the very excellence of his *Autobiography* has made a complete biography seem unnecessary. Perhaps one look at a list of his publications has discouraged the prospective biographer. At any rate, the lack of a biography cannot be blamed on the paucity of materials. Before examining these sources in greater detail it may be useful to review his career very briefly.

Arthur Young came from a long line of Suffolk squires whose ancestral estate was at Bradfield Combust, about 6 miles south of Bury St. Edmunds. His father and brother were clergymen, the former chaplain to Speaker Onslow, the latter to George III. As a younger son, he was not educated in the family tradition at Eton and Cambridge but was apprenticed to a wine merchant at King's Lynn. So distasteful was the apprenticeship that at its end he abandoned all thoughts of a business career. He lacked the education to be a clergyman. His mother vetoed the army. He attempted to edit a magazine, but the venture proved a failure. In 1763, at the age of twenty-two, Arthur Young took a farm on the Bradfield estate, not because he loved farming but because he was bored and desperate. After all he must do something.

He continued to farm at Bradfield until 1767 when he left, partly because he was not successful financially, more largely probably because of friction between his mother and his wife. For twelve years Arthur Young was absent from Bradfield. Most of the period until 1776 was spent at North Mimms in Hertfordshire, only 17 miles north of London, where his farming was no more successful financially than it had been at Bradfield. His writings, however, between 1767 and 1776 made him the outstanding agricultural publicist in England. It was in this period that he was elected to the Royal Society and that he was very active in the Society of Arts. In 1776 he made his first trip to Ireland and for about a year in 1777 and 1778 acted as estate agent for Lord Kingsborough at Mitchelstown, near Cork. This arrangement was short lived, for friction soon developed between landlord and agent.

Thus, at the age of thirty-seven, Arthur Young found himself back at Bradfield. Although a noted author, he still had

no settled means of livelihood. Emigration to America was considered but the decision was to farm again at Bradfield. The death of his mother in 1785, and of his elder brother in the following year, made Arthur Young owner of the Bradfield estate. Shortly before his mother's death he had embarked in 1784 upon the publication of the *Annals of Agriculture*.

His three trips to France resulted in the publication of his masterpiece in 1792. On the whole Young showed himself quite sympathetic to the French Revolution in his *Travels*, and the work was widely hailed by the English friends of the Revolution. Before the year 1792 had ended, however, Young had completely shifted his position. The overthrow of the monarchy had greatly alarmed him, and early in 1793 there appeared the most influential of his pamphlets, *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*.[1] Before the summer of 1792 Young had in general supported the liberal point of view in politics ; after that date he became a determined conservative.

The year 1793 marked the culmination of Young's career with his appointment as Secretary to the Board of Agriculture with a salary of £400 a year, a post which he retained until death. The fact that the appointment came in the same year as *The Example of France* inevitably led to charges that Young had been bought by the government, that he had changed his political views in order to obtain the Secretaryship. There is absolutely no proof of such a deal. The first change in his views can be dated several months before the Board was seriously considered. On the other hand, it seems quite doubtful whether Young would have been appointed if the Board had been established a year or two earlier when his views were at variance with those of the government. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the Pitt government regarded the appointment as a reward for *The Example of France* which was certainly among the most influential pamphlets in arousing public opinion against the French Revolution.

[1] This pamphlet went through four English editions within a year, was published in French at Brussels and Quebec, and in Germany and Italy. It was based upon three articles which appeared in the *Annals*, xviii (1792), 486-95, 582-96 ; xix (1793), 36-51. The pamphlet reproduced nearly every word in the articles, but completely rearranged the material and greatly enlarged it.

Young had not been bought, but had he not been rewarded for his change of view?[1]

With the establishment of the Board Young's time was pretty evenly divided between London and Bradfield. In 1798 the Board was installed in permanent quarters at 32 Sackville Street, off Piccadilly.[2] The most active period of the Board each year was the winter and spring when Parliament was in session. From December or January until the middle of June Young was usually to be found in Sackville Street, from June until the late autumn at Bradfield.

Some brief account must also be given of Young's private life. He had been married in 1765, at the age of twenty-three, to Martha Allen of a wealthy family of Lynn. Martha's elder sister was second wife to Dr. Charles Burney. Every biographer has agreed that the marriage was an unhappy one, at least after the first few years. They were completely incompatible. In early life Martha Young was frivolous, in middle age shrewish, in old age hypochondriac. There is Fanny Burney's famous picture, dating from 1771:

> Mrs. Young has been on a visit to us for some days. She and her Caro Sposo . . . are a very strange couple—she is grown so immoderately fat, that I believe she would at least weigh [ ][3] times more than her husband. I wonder he could ever marry her! They have however given over those violent disputes and quarrels with which they used to entertain their friends, not that Mrs. Young has any reason to congratulate herself upon it, quite the contrary, for the extreme violence of her overbearing temper has at length so entirely wearied Mr. Young that he disdains any controversy with her, scarce ever contradicting her, and lives a life of calm, easy contempt.[4]

[1] This question has been discussed at greater length by the author in his essay, "Arthur Young, British Patriot" in *Nationalism and Internationalism*, Essays Inscribed to Carlton J. H. Hayes, ed. by Edward Mead Earle (New York, 1950), pp. 144-89.

[2] The building was still in existence in 1938 and the handsome room where the Board met could still be identified. Cf. Sir Ernest Clarke, "The Board of Agriculture, 1793-1822", *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, lix (1898), plate opposite p. 21, which reproduces the plate by Pugin and Rowlandson from R. Ackermann, *Microcosm of London* iii. (1809), 73. Young and his family lived at 32 Sackville Street, and he was given an allowance for upkeep of the premises.

[3] *Sic.*

[4] *The Early Diary of Frances Burney*, i. 114-15.

Thirteen years later the youthful Count François de la Rochefoucauld wrote his father another account of Martha Young. After praising Young very highly, he continued :

> In spite of all this, I do not enjoy paying him a visit, first because his table is the worst and dirtiest possible, and secondly on account of his wife, who looks exactly like a devil. She is hideously swarthy and looks thoroughly evil ; it is rumored that she beats her husband. . . . She continually torments her children and her servants and is most frequently ill-tempered towards visitors.[1]

By 1809 Martha Young was a pitiable wreck, physically and mentally. In that year she ended one of her letters to her husband : " My letter is a woeful counterpart of myself, the sooner I conclude it will be a release." [2] In the same year she begged to spend part of the summer on the Suffolk coast instead of going to Bradfield :

> I dread Bradfield at *present* the length of time to come, cold of every room terrifies me, high winds amongst those fine trees affected me, with such fear last time with every door thro' the house shaking my bed . . . nor have I been in the church there these six years which is most shocking . . . you have no poultry either to enliven nor to eat . . . a joint is what does not agree with so relaxed a stomach. . . . I am so cowardly that without a servant before him I dread even Jack (old as he is) & the mere ride for two or three miles so circumstanced is better let alone. . . .[3]

The fault was not all Martha's. Arthur Young was decidedly a lady's man. Three years after his marriage he was flirting with the Burney girls. It was at this time that Fanny referred to " that lively, charming, spirited Mr. Young ".[4] When forty years old he had a month's flirtation with " a very handsome and most agreeable girl " at Lowestoft.[5] In 1784 when he was forty-three Young began his long attachment to Betsy Plampin, then fifteen years old, who later became Mrs. Orbell Ray Oakes. In his *Autobiography* Young tells of attending a ball at the Plampin's in 1784, an evening which passed " with uncommon hilarity till the rising sun sent us home ".[6] There is no indication that Mrs. Young was present ! The friendship with Mrs.

[1] *A Frenchman in England, 1784, Being the Mélanges sur l'Angleterre of François de la Rochefoucauld*, p. 38.

[2] B.M. Add. MS. 35,130, fol. 270.

[3] Ibid. fols. 273-4.

[4] *Early Diary of Frances Burney*, i. 5.

[5] *Autobiography of Arthur Young*, p. 100.

[6] Ibid. p. 154.

Oakes only terminated twenty-seven years later with her early death. In the later pages of the *Autobiography* she was " my friend " to whom he wrote journal letters and whom he described two years before her death :

> A placid, sweet temper, with a good understanding ; that ever rec[d]. me with kindness, and attention, and preference, with whom I was at my ease, and where I could be at any time. . . .[1]

A careful reading of her letters, and those of her husband, to him make it seem very unlikely that the relations between Betsy Oakes and Arthur Young were in any sense guilty ones. Nevertheless, Martha Young could hardly have been pleased with the obvious preference which he showed for the much younger and more beautiful woman.

Arthur and Martha Young had four children. First there came two daughters, Mary, who outlived both her parents by many years, and Bessy who died at the age of twenty-six from consumption. Then came his only son, Arthur, who outlived his father by seven years. Fourteen years later in 1783 was born the baby of the family, Martha Ann, familiarly known as " Bobbin ", to whom Young was completely devoted, and whose death in 1797 at the age of fourteen was the greatest tragedy in his life. He never really recovered from the blow and for years nursed his grief into a morbid melancholia.

Before Bobbin's death Young had not been devoutly religious, but after his loss he began a course of religious reading which led to the acceptance of the Evangelical doctrines so rapidly growing in the last decades of the eighteenth century. He was especially influenced by William Wilberforce and a close friendship developed between the two men. In the last two decades of his life Arthur Young was a transformed man. Now religion came first and foremost, although he never shirked his duties at the Board. A very considerable portion of his time was devoted to religious reading and the attendance of religious meetings and societies. At Bradfield he conducted schools for poor children and Sunday evening prayer meetings where he preached the sermons himself. In many respects his views were very narrow

[1] *Autobiography of Arthur Young*, p. 444.

and even obscurantist, but it was his religion which opened his eyes to the sufferings of the poor and made him compassionate.

The year 1811 was marked by further tragedy for Arthur Young. Mrs. Oakes died of tuberculosis after a long and painful illness. His own eyesight had been failing for several years. In 1811 he was operated on for cataract but the operation proved unsuccessful and from that time he was completely blind. Still he continued his work as Secretary to the Board of Agriculture. At times black despair settled down upon him, but usually his natural buoyancy reinforced by Christian resignation prevailed. In April 1820, Young died in Sackville Street at the age of seventy-eight.

As mentioned above, a definitive life of Arthur Young has never been written. In 1790 he published in the *Annals of Agriculture* a brief autobiographical memoir, confined chiefly to his experiences as farmer, traveller, and author.[1] In 1801 in the periodical *Public Characters* an anonymous biographical sketch was published, on the whole a remarkably well balanced and fair-minded appraisal.[2] Full credit was given to his agricultural attainments but the article criticized his too obvious prejudice in favour of the landed interest and his increasing absorption in politics. The tone of the whole was friendly as was the final summation: "BUT ARTHUR YOUNG HAS LONG AND FAITHFULLY SERVED HIS COUNTRY—MAY HIS ERRORS BE FORGOTTEN AND HIS SERVICES ONLY BE REMEMBERED!"[3] Shortly after his death there appeared another anonymous article in *The Annual Biography and Obituary*,[4] a mere summary of his career based on no private material. Much more important was the article by Dr. John A. Paris who had attended Young in his last illness.[5]

[1] *Annals*, xv (1791), 152-97.

[2] *Public Characters of 1801-1802*, iv. 559-94. [3] Ibid. p. 593.

[4] *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, v (1821), 121-37. This article is prefaced by Young's portrait by J. Rising which appeared in a very short article in the *European Magazine and London Review*, xxviii (1795), 363-5. This last is a mere condensation of Young's article in the *Annals*. The article in the *Annual Biography* has also, as headpiece, a silhouette, presumably of Young, but without acknowledgement.

[5] J. A. Paris, "A Biographical Memoir of Arthur Young", *The Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts*, ix (1820), 279-309. This article became the chief source for all accounts of Young published during the greater part of the nineteenth century.

It is quite clear that Dr. Paris was given considerable aid by the family and was shown certain private papers. No further substantial biographical material appeared until 1880 when Miss M. Betham-Edwards edited the *Travels in France* for the Bohn Library and included a Biographical Sketch of about twenty pages.[1] Since Miss Betham-Edwards was permitted to use the manuscript autobiography and correspondence, her sketch is much more detailed on Young's personal life than the memoir by Dr. Paris. In 1893 an excellent biographical sketch on Young by Albert Pell was printed in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*.[2] Mr. Pell had visited Bradfield and also had been allowed to examine the manuscript autobiography and the *Elements of Agriculture*. He was also the first to use, although not extensively, the manuscript collections of the Board of Agriculture which were deposited in the Library of the Royal Agricultural Society.

In 1898 there appeared in print at long last *The Autobiography of Arthur Young* which became, of course, the foundation for all further biographical studies. The *Autobiography* was edited by Miss Betham-Edwards who also included a considerable number of letters from the manuscript correspondence. In her preface Miss Betham-Edwards made the following statement:

> In his desire to be perfectly frank, the writer has laid upon his editor the obligation of many curtailments, the Memoirs from beginning to end being already much too long. . . . The Memoirs, while necessarily abridged and arranged, are given precisely as they were written—that is to say, although it has been necessary to omit much, not a word has been added or altered.[3]

[1] Miss Betham-Edwards used the following title in her edition: *Travels in France By Arthur Young during the years 1787, 1788, 1789*. Her edition included an Introduction, pp. v-xxvii, and a Biographical Sketch, pp. xxix-l. The text includes only the diary of the tours in France, and the section at the end where Young discussed the Revolution. The early printings included a portrait as a frontispiece, but later printings have omitted the portrait.

[2] Albert Pell, "Arthur Young", *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, liv (1893), 1-23. This article reproduced the Rising portrait. Pell had also published an earlier article, "Arthur Young, Agriculturist, Author, and Statesman", *Journal of the Farmers' Club*, April 1882, pp. 49-71.

[3] *The Autobiography of Arthur Young with Selections from his Correspondence*, pp. v-vi. Miss Betham-Edwards used a different portrait for the frontispiece from that used in the *Travels*, from a miniature in the possession of Alfred Morrison, Esq.

The text as edited runs to 476 pages. Unfortunately, the manuscript of the *Autobiography* has completely disappeared. Hence it is impossible to tell how much of value to the biographer was omitted. In 1931 the present author interviewed Mrs. Rose Willson, niece to the last Mrs. Arthur Young, whose considered opinion it was that the manuscript of the *Autobiography* was burned after Miss Betham-Edwards had edited it.[1]

The publication of the *Autobiography* gave rise to several review articles which were really biographical sketches, notably by Augustine Birrell and Leslie Stephen.[2] Neither of these, of course, added any new material. Fortunately Henry Higgs also was able to make use of the recently published *Autobiography* when he wrote his excellent article on Young for the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[3] Several other articles of a biographical character have appeared, most of them as prefaces to new editions of his works. Chief among these are those by Thomas Okey for the Everyman edition of the *Travels in France*,[4] by Professor Constantia Maxwell in her editions of the French and Irish tours,[5]

[1] Mrs. Willson very kindly had photographs taken for me of the vegetable dish which was given to Young by the Board of Agriculture, and the snuff box given by Catherine the Great. Professor Rodney C. Loehr in an article in *Agricultural History* entitled "American Husbandry; a Commentary Apropos of the Carman Edition", xiv (1940), 105, n. 8, gives the impression that the manuscript may still be in existence: "A few years ago, a letter to Miss Betham-Edwards' solicitors asking for permission to use the unpublished parts of the *Autobiography* brought the reply that under no circumstances could they be made available."

[2] Augustine Birrell, *In the Name of the Bodleian*, 183-94; Leslie Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer*, i. 188-226.

[3] Good as Mr. Higgs' article is, it does not seem to have gone beyond the material presented by Dr. Paris and Miss Betham-Edwards, and that in the *Autobiography*.

[4] The Everyman edition by Mr. Okey was originally published in 1915 and has been repeatedly reprinted. The title page reads, *Travels in France and Italy*. The Spanish part of his tour was omitted. The evaluation of the Revolution was included. Mr. Okey provided an Introduction, pp. vii-xxi.

[5] *A Tour in Ireland* . . . selected and edited by Constantia Maxwell (1925); *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789* (1929). Professor Maxwell's edition of the French tours is notable because it includes generous excerpts from volume ii of the original work, and is the only modern edition in English to do so. The Editor's Introduction, pp. xiii-li, is more critical than biographical.

and by Elizabeth Pinney Hunt in her little volume *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics*.[1] Attention should also be called to Henri Sée's Introduction to his definitive edition of the *Travels in France* which appeared, in French, of course, in 1931.[2] Finally, mention must be made of the most recent article by G. E. Fussell, "My Impressions of Arthur Young",[3] which is, however, more critical than biographical in character. There is no more judicious appraisal of Young.

Two more ambitious attempts have been made to write a biography of Arthur Young. The first of these, *The Biography of Arthur Young, F.R.S., from his birth until 1787*, by C. S. Haslam, appeared in 1930.[4] Mr. Haslam prepared this work as a doctoral thesis for Professor Henri Sée at the University of Rennes. It is a careful, painstaking piece of work, and is based on Young's writings, the *Autobiography*, and the manuscript correspondence. Obviously it covers only the first half of his life. A more serious drawback is that it was published in a very limited edition, has long been out of print, and can only be obtained in the largest libraries. The book is really more of an analysis and critique of Young's early writings than a true biography. Nevertheless, so far as it goes, it is the most complete and authoritative biography which has thus far appeared.

The second, *Sheep and Turnips, Being the Life and Times of Arthur Young, F.R.S.*, by Miss Amelia Defries, was published in 1938.[5] Miss Defries would be the first to disclaim that her work was meant to be a definitive biography. It is popular in character and tone. Nearly as much attention has been given to the "times" as to the "life" of Arthur Young. Very little manuscript material was used in the preparation of this work.

[1] Miss Hunt's work appeared in 1926. The Introduction consists of a biographical sketch and a critical evaluation of Young's work, pp. 9-34. The little volume also contains a fairly complete and very useful bibliography.

[2] Professor Sée's edition is in three volumes. It omits the Italian and Spanish trips, but includes all of volume ii. The Introduction, pp. 1-62, is far more critical than biographical. The notes are admirable.

[3] Cf. n. 4, p. 393.

[4] Published by George Over (Rugby) Limited, Rugby. Including bibliography and index it is 253 pages long.

[5] Published by Methuen. Including bibliography, index, and notes it is 235 pages long.

Some of the imaginative reconstructions, as for instance the route which he followed when walking to and from London and North Mimms,[1] are very illuminating. In other cases liberties have been taken which the professional historian could not accept.

Quite recently Dr. John H. Middendorf has written a very interesting and scholarly doctoral dissertation in the field of English literature for Columbia University in which he has drawn upon Arthur Young's writings, chiefly his travels, as illustrating eighteenth-century standards of artistic and literary taste.[2]

Without any question the most important collection of Young manuscripts is to be found in the British Museum. These, in turn, consist of two major items, both acquired by the Museum from the Young family after the death in 1896 of the last Arthur Young. To the biographer the most important are the eight volumes of correspondence.[3] The average length of each volume is about 500 folios, which means about 250 letters per volume. A conservative estimate of the total number of letters would therefore be 1,500. Naturally most of these letters were written to Arthur Young. At the most 100 are by him, which include those written to his daughters while he was in France and copies of certain business letters late in his career when he was blind and had a secretary. Young seems to have kept most of the letters which he received. Among his correspondents were, of course, many of the important men of his period—Edmund Burke, Dr. Charles Burney, Sir Joseph Banks, Jeremy Bentham, William Wilberforce, Sir John Sinclair, and Coke of Norfolk. Frequently much more interesting and illuminating for his biography are the letters from such close personal friends

[1] Defries, *Sheep and Turnips*, pp. 85-7.

[2] John H. Middendorf, *Arthur Young, Traveller and Observer*, 1953, Publication 6672, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. A summary will be found in *Dissertation Abstracts*, xiv (1954), 129-30.

[3] B.M. Add. MS. 35, 126-33. The British Museum also contains one letter to John Wilkes, Add. MS. 30,871, fol. 185; ten to the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, Add. MS. 35,643, fol. 339, 35,652, fol. 216, 35,697, fol. 83, 35,700, fols. 183, 192, 198, 204, 207, 235, 318; eight to Jeremy Bentham, Add. MS. 33,541, fol. 609, 35,542, fols. 462, 471, 485, 498, 502, 504, 511; two to the Earl of Liverpool, Add. MS. 38,225, vol. xxxiii, fol. 122, vol. xxxvi, fol. 122.

as John Arbuthnot, Rev. John Symonds, the "Earl-Bishop" of Bristol, and Thomas Ruggles.[1] To the biographer there are disappointing gaps in the collection. There are very few letters from his daughter Mary or his son Arthur, and comparatively few from his wife. There are none from Mrs. Oakes until the last few years of her life. The question can never be answered, of course, whether he just did not bother to keep these letters, or whether members of his family thought it better to destroy them. The correspondence is much more complete for the later years of his life, perhaps because his secretary was more systematic than he had ever been. Four out of the eight volumes cover the period from 1808 to his death in 1820, when his interests were predominantly religious.

The other body of Young manuscripts in the British Museum consists of his great systematic treatment of agriculture, entitled *The Elements and Practice of Agriculture.* The Museum possesses both the original manuscript in thirty-four volumes and a later transcript in ten large volumes.[2] It has never been published, largely because of its size. Shortly after his death attempts were made in vain to secure a London publisher and somewhat later Sir John Sinclair tried to find an Edinburgh publisher with no better results.[3] The work is a veritable encyclopaedia of agriculture. All during his life Young had made it a practice to take extensive notes on his reading. Much of the *Elements* was taken from his own works and writings, much from the work of others, but all meticulously documented. Young's Preface starts as follows:

> The work which I now presume to offer to the public, has been founded on the basis of 50 years experience;—much of the labor of more than 30 years;—and travelling to an extent of more than 20,000 miles. . . .[4]

[1] John Arbuthnot, 1729-97, was father to the statesman, Charles Arbuthnot. For many years he had a large farm at Mitcham, in Surrey, and was on very intimate terms with Young while he was living at North Mimms. Rev. John Symonds, 1729-1807, was Professor of History at Cambridge and had a fine home just outside Bury. He was probably Young's most intimate friend. The infamous Earl-Bishop, 1730-1803, 3rd Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, was a neighbour who lived at Ickworth near Bury. For Ruggles, see pp. 422-23.

[2] B.M. Add. MS. 34,821-54, and 34,855-64.

[3] Amery, "Writings", pp. 13-14.

[4] B.M. Add. MS. 34,855, fol. 3.

As late as 1814 a note in the *Autobiography* reads: "This year I paid much attention to the 'Elements'." [1] It is quite apparent that during the latter part of his life he devoted four or five hours daily to this work during the long summer vacation at Bradfield. The work covers every possible aspect of agriculture. Some idea of the scope may be appreciated by the fact that one whole volume is devoted to manures and more than a volume to live-stock. Still another volume is given over to a description of all kinds of agricultural implements. The second half of this volume contains a large number of interesting plates, many of them of implements and farm buildings at Bradfield. Certainly Young had taken great pains to make his last work as complete as possible. Yet he was modest as to his results, for he stated in the Preface: "Of all vain ideas, that is most futile and contemptible, which can induce any individual to imagine for a single moment, that he has exhausted a subject." [2]

Four other libraries in and near London contain manuscript collections useful to the biographer of Arthur Young. Of these the most important are the manuscript records of the Board of Agriculture which are deposited in the Library of the Royal Agricultural Society.[3] There are two volumes of a Letter Book, the first of which ends in 1800, and the second of which begins in 1810, so that there is a gap here of ten years in the records. More important are seven volumes of minute books, but again there is a serious gap, from 1808 to 1817. The minute books are both of committee meetings and of the Board as a whole. From these records it appears that the Secretary was kept busy. At meeting after meeting motions were passed giving directions to him to prepare a report on some aspect of the Board's work. When it was decided that the Board should have permanent quarters the Secretary was directed to find a suitable house.[4]

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 456. [2] B.M. Add. MS. 34,855, fol. 10.

[3] For some time after the dissolution of the Board of Agriculture in 1822 its records seem to have been in the Tower of London, but in 1839 they were delivered to the Royal Agricultural Society. This information was given to me in a letter of 12 October 1938 from R. B. Pugh in which he quoted obsolete Tower records, OBS/687, fols. 234-6.

[4] London, Library of the Royal Agricultural Society, Minute Books, no. 4, fol. 36.

On 27 March 1801, the Secretary led Mr. Hoar and the Board about Hyde Park in a test of Hoar's *Virgula Divinatoria*, an experiment which seems to have been very successful.[1] Not infrequently when the Board adjourned in June for the summer, a motion was passed ordering the Secretary to take certain papers with him into the country and to make a report on the same when the Board should reassemble.

Hardly less important for the earlier part of Young's life are the manuscript records of the Royal Society of Arts. Since these have been examined in a separate article, note need only be made that they contain eight manuscript letters by him and many volumes of minutes which reflect his activities in the Society.[2]

At the Public Record Office, in the Chatham Papers, are five letters from Arthur Young (and one from Mrs. Young) to William Pitt the Younger.[3] His letters are for the early years of the Board of Agriculture, 1796-9. One was a protest against Pitt's so-called "Triple Assessment" which would triple the taxes on houses and windows, and such luxury items as male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. It is interesting as showing Young's devotion to the landed classes, and his willingness to disagree with government views.

Prince's Street Hanor Square
No 11

Decr 20. 97

Sir

From a knowledge of country gentlemen & resident clergy, more extensive perhaps than is possessed by any other man in England, I am confident either yt. yr new tax will not be paid, or if paid do more mischief to government than double ye amount raised on different principles—taking it for granted therefore that it must either be reduced very greatly or that you will give it up when the collection becomes too oppressive, permit me to suggest another to make up the deficiency.

This is an excise of ¾d per lb on meat, with exemption to the poor mans hog, which upon ye lowest calculation wd produce £1,500,000 & perhaps £2,000,000.

[1] London, Library of the Royal Agricultural Society, Minute Books, no. 5, fol. 199.

[2] John G. Gazley, "Arthur Young and the Society of Arts", *The Journal of Economic History*, i (1941), 129-52.

[3] Public Record Office, Chatham Papers, GD 8/193. The dates are 2 November 1796, 20 December 1797, 1 December 1798, 6 April 1798, 28 November 1799. Mrs. Young's letter was dated 29 November 1795.

The butcher would make it 1^{d}, & y^{e} difference of seasons lays a heavier tax than this without being oppressively felt.

A stamp upon all places of public diversion, public dinners, clubs &c &c not forgetting debating societies & jacobin meetings would produce more than commonly supposed & tend to restrain that violent emigration to towns w^{ch} the measure dreadfully threatens At Bath they are in high spirits, their town will be crouded. [*sic*]

Licences to every sort of trader

D^{o} to shopmen

If tripling & quadrupling &c be persisted in, much time must be given before the first payment, or it cannot be collected. The old assess'^{d} taxes will suffer incalculably, every man will & must make a vast reduction.

I know numbers who on an income of £600 a y^{r} keep a four wheeled carriage footman & postillion ; it is self evident y^{t} all must go except perhaps the footman, & many will for him substitute a maid.

I avoid expressions of respect and attachment because your time is precious ; none feels them stronger than

S^{r} Your most faithful
& obliged ser^{t}

Arthur Young

If there is one principle in taxation clearer than another it is that the weight should bear proportionably light on an infinite number of points—heavily on none. I cannot calculate y^{e} income of the country at less than 200 millions, the mass of taxation is therefore on y^{e} whole light ; but it is the multitude *of points* hitherto y^{t} makes it so.[1]

A fourth repository of Young manuscript letters in the London area is the Library of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew where are to be found six letters to Sir Joseph Banks. All but one, and that not really a letter but just a note, are for the period 1789-91.[2] Two are concerned with a new corn law and several with articles which Banks was submitting for the *Annals*. The Banks correspondence seems to have been widely diffused. There are twenty-six letters from Young to Sir Joseph in the Yale University Library at New Haven,[3] and at least eight in the Sutro Branch of the California State Library at San Francisco, Cali-

[1] Young elaborated on some of the points in this letter in an article in the *Annals*, xxx (1798), 177-84.

[2] Kew, England, Library of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Banks Correspondence, vol. i, fol. 341, vol. ii, fols. 26, 28, 39, 44, 263.

[3] These letters cover the period, 1786-99. Most of them have to do with the mutual opposition of Young and Banks to the Wool Bill in 1787-8. The Yale University Library also possesses two letters in the Boswell Papers from Young to Boswell, written in 1768.

fornia.[1] One of Young's most interesting letters to Banks was written while he was making his survey of Lincolnshire for the Board in 1797. It reveals his difficulties and the spirit in which he undertook these surveys.

Sept. 4 Barton

Dear Sir

I this morn rec^{d}. y^{r} favour in which you liken me to what I have no resemblance to, a comet—I have made but one rule & y^{t} is to stay every where as long as I can procure intelligence, & no longer I have been above a month in y^{e} county & have a great deal to do to finish only a part of it; I should have been slower had people been at home but unluckily many have been absent at water drinking places, and at some places I have not rec^{d} all y^{e} information y^{t} might have been given me—but this is what every one must expect y^{t} undertakes such a work; upon y^{e} whole I have found people very communicative very civil & very intelligent & I have collected much more important information than I expected; or than I ever did before in an equal space of country. The Isle of Axholm is very important; I called on M^{r} Johnsons but he was at Buxton, M^{r} Lyster a bad accident in y^{e} family & M^{r} Stovin not at home. D^{r} P. a phys^{n}. so costive I c^{d} get 0 out of him—but I found a Suffolk parson at Haxey of whom by his means or his farmers I got much—& I followed warping to y^{e} source & got a thorough view of it & accounts satisfactory. I was with M^{r} Goulton & shall meet him again tonight—I will call on all y^{o} have named and hope to reach Revesby after sweeping the Wolds & marsh before me.—Some time after y^{e} 9th. I hope you will look out papers about East West and Wildmore: everything it supports at present, N^{o} sheep, horses, cattle, geese, &c &c acres, value, rights, &c.

I have gone only fr^{o} Gainsbro to Barton in 9 days & you talk of a comet. Depend on it I neglect nothing but the county is so large y^{t} my time is much too short—and here is a wet harvest for my corn at Bradfield on 300 acres & y^{e} farmer rambling in Lincolnshire! I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kindness & will neglect nothing you mention being

D^{r} S^{r}.

Your much obliged

& Respectful, &c.

Ar. Young.

I know nobody fr^{o} Newark to Grantham nor fr^{o} Grantham to Stamford where I must go—Also from Spalding to Wisbeach except Long Sutton w^{ch} I have done.[2]

Next to the British Museum the most important English repository of manuscripts for the biography of Arthur Young is

[1] These letters cover the years, 1789-1804. This collection is in process of being catalogued and it is possible that more Young letters will be found.

[2] New Haven, Conn., Yale University M.S., Banks Correspondence, fols. 311-13. I am indebted to the Yale University Library for permission to print this letter.

the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where two important collections are to be found. The Bagshawe Muniments contain three sets of manuscripts that concern the Young family. Least important are six letters from Arthur Young to Sir James Caldwell of Castle Caldwell in Ireland, which cover the years 1772-9. Three are originals, three from a copy book of letters.[1] They are concerned partly with Young's impending visit to Ireland, and partly with plans for publishing his Irish tour.

Much more important are fifteen letters from Young's son, the Reverend Arthur Young, written to his father, mother, and wife. Most of them concern his travels in Russia.[2] They will furnish the most important source for a subsequent article in this BULLETIN on the Reverend Arthur Young.

The third and most important item for Arthur Young the agriculturist are eleven leaves from the original manuscript of his *Autobiography*, parts of which were omitted by Miss Betham-Edwards in her edition. It cannot be said that these omitted portions throw any revolutionary light on Arthur Young's character or career. They are purely supplementary. Indeed if they could be taken as indicative of the sort of material which Miss Betham-Edwards omitted, one might feel reasonably sure that the printed *Autobiography* included most of what was important. All of them are taken from a " book letter " which Young started to his daughter-in-law, Jane Young, in 1809.[3]

The longest and most interesting omission is for the entry of 1 December.[4]

[1] John Rylands Library, Bagshawe Muniments, B 3/16, fols. 410, 412, 413, 1167-9, 357-60, 381-3. [2] Ibid. B 22/6, fols. 2-15.

[3] Ibid. fol. 1. In four places Miss Betham-Edwards omitted portions of the original letter book. Two of these are not very important and will be dealt with in this footnote. Two have been thought interesting enough to be printed verbatim. In the entry for 4 August the following sentence should be inserted just before the last sentence of the first paragraph on p. 448 of the *Autobiography*, after a description of his Sunday evening prayer meetings at Bradfield: " Mr. Edwards always present, & Mrs. Edwards & Mrs. Raymond very often." The Edwards family seem to have been farmers on Young's estate. After the entry of 9 April 1810, at the end of paragraph one on p. 452, a fairly lengthy paragraph was added, devoted almost entirely to religion, and hardly worth quoting.

[4] This paragraph should follow immediately at the end of the first paragraph on p. 449 of the *Autobiography*.

This country is quite changed since you were here ; Mr. Rookwood brother to Sir Thomas Gage, married to Miss O'Donnell, with a fortune of £30,000 is just fixed at Coldham : Sir Thomas Gage married to Lady Maryann Brown, the daughter of Lord Kenmare, is in Kedingtons house at Rougham ; Kedington is gone into his Cottage, and is now again the Reverend, and his Shepherdess sent about her business. Sir Charles Davers is dead, and Colonel Rushbrooke, married to one of his daughters, has got Rushbrooke, the Park and 1,500 acres about it. Phillips, at Welnetham is dead, and Mr. Cartwright of Ixworth, has got the Living and resides there, with his two Sisters, two agreable young women. I called upon Sir Thomas Gage as he is a man of science ; upon Colonel Rushbrooke, as I had met him at Lord Bristols, found him an agreable man, and should be liable to meet him again ; and also upon Cartwright, being so very near a neighbour ; I forgot Mr. Davers at Monks Bradfield, married to a very good woman, and settled there. I called also upon him. Another new comer is the Reverend Mr. Godfrey, who lives in the house where Gooch resided at Cockfield ; who married one of the Miss Possons, a pleasant woman : all these returned my visit and I have since asked them to dinner, and I have dined with them all ; with Colonel Rushbrooke yesterday for the first time ; the invitation was to meet Lord Bristol, but he was obliged to go to London suddenly on business, and therefore was not present. Colonel Osborn and his wife, sister to Mrs. Rushbrooke, and Kedington were the party. It is a mortifying thing to me that I cannot go into company without hearing something or other that must offend a Christian : they were talking of Sir Harry Parker of Melford, and one observed that it was very disagreable to Colonel Parker &c that his Father talked more of the other world than of this. I remarked that with a man past 70 it was high time to think of another world ; Rushbrooke answered, why yes he may think of it, as much as he please, but he ought not to talk of it. God tells us expressly, that we *shall* make his precepts and commands the constant subject of conversation ; and rebellious man tells us we ought not to do it : and such is the mental blindness of worldly men, that they have not the smallest sence [*sic*] of any impropriety in such opinions. Cartwright when he dined here, was asked how he liked Hannah Moores Coelebs, his answer was, " I read a little of it, and found that it was about religion, I did not go on with it." Kedington called on me in the morning, the present Reverend, and took the name of God in vain five times in a quarter of an hour ; nor is a man in the smallest degree, less respected for such opinions ; but he is liked the better for them. This utter deadness in every thing that respects religion is the great curse of this vicinity ; but if any opportunity offers by which I can become acquainted with Sir Harry Parker, I shall do it, for the feature of talking of the other world is the best that I have heard of any person in this country ; as to my old acquaintance except a very few, and the new ones also, they are upon the whole of such a stamp, that I shall without regret renounce them all. I kept up, and have increased through want of judgement the transient connection of now and then visiting these people ; and my motive was, that, they might not have it to say, *there ! look at Young ; he was an agreable man once, but see what religion does, it has made him a recluse savage :* but I gradually feel that there is something fallacious in this motive and that it will not bear a strict scrutiny. You were never fond of dinner visits, but that might have resulted from your having enjoyed a choicer mode of association :

I do not think however, when you come here, that you will be very desirous of much Society.[1]

There is also an entry for 25 June 1810, none of which appears in the printed edition.[2]

The beginning of last Novr. a Rheumatic disorder began with me, which has lasted ever since, nor have I been 5 hours free from it in all time, except when in bed; when down at Easter, I was able to walk it off, for the time being, but now the more I walk, the worse I am; I have tried a number of remedies, each of which was to have performed a cure; it is become a confirmed sciatica from the ankle to the hip, and I almost despair of its removal; I reproach myself for want of patience and resignation, under an affliction which comes from God, but I earnestly pray to him that he will render me perfectly resigned whatever may be his pleasure, and that it may have the effect of weakening every chain that ties me to the world; resignation is right at your age what then is it at mine? The climate of Russia has agreed so ill with you, that this virtue must be not a little necessary. I came from town last friday, and the weather is delightful, but this new complaint added to the state of my sight, should feelingly convince me that all my views and expectations should be deeply fixed upon another world; may the Lord in his mercy render these circumstances the means of drawing me nearer to God. It is high time that all pursuits should cease, but a whole summers work is yet wanting to finish my Elements of Agriculture, which now becomes a burthen to me; it is the last undertaking of any extent in which I shall engage; for as to the gradual arrangement of my papers on religious subjects, it is an employment adapted to the state of my mind; and thanks to

[1] Some of the names in this paragraph can be identified. Mr. Rookwood was born Robert Gage but took the name of Rookwood. His seat at Coldham was but a mile from Bradfield. Sir Thomas Gage was the 7th Baronet, born in 1781 and married in 1809. His bride, Mary Ann Brown, was daughter to the 1st Earl of Kenmare. They were apparently living in Rougham Hall, the seat of the Kedington family. The Rev. Roger Kedington, whose life and habits seem to have left much to be desired, became Rector at Bradfield in 1816, probably not entirely to the satisfaction of Young. But the Kedingtons were old friends to Arthur Young. Col. Robert Rushbrooke was born in 1779 and in 1808 had married Frances, a natural daughter of Sir Charles Davers who had been owner of Rushbrooke Hall, one of the famous mansions of west Suffolk. The legitimate line of the Davers family seems to have ended with Sir Charles. The Mr. Davers of Monks Bradfield was probably an illegitimate son. The Rev. William Gooch was one of Young's protegés and had become estate agent for Lord Templetown at Castle Upton in Ireland. The Parkers owned another of the famous mansions of this district at Long Melford. Sir Harry Parker, 1735-1812, was succeeded by his son, Sir William Parker. There is some reflection of these visitings in the Young correspondence, B.M. Add. MS. 35, 130, fols. 306, 308, 323-4.

[2] This paragraph would be inserted on p. 452 of the *Autobiography*, after the paragraph on religion referred to above in footnote 3, p. 416, the paragraph which has not been reproduced.

the Lord I think my heart will go with it : but he may not give me time for either ; at my age, to expect even a month would be ill founded. His will be done——[1]

Even more important than the Bagshawe Muniments to the biographer of Arthur Young are the letters from Marianne Francis to Mrs. Piozzi. This large collection of 160 letters covers the years 1806-20.[2] Marianne Francis was the niece of Fanny Burney and granddaughter of Dr. Charles Burney. Naturally she wrote long and clever letters, kept a diary when she was thirteen, and in short was a bluestocking. Like a good Burney she adored music. She had a great gift for languages, and at the age of twenty had mastered Latin, French, Spanish, and Greek, had some acquaintance with Portuguese and Dutch, and was working on Hebrew. No wonder her grandfather referred to her as " a monster "[3] of learning. She was a prodigious walker and thought nothing of a jaunt from London to Richmond. Finally, she was a devout Evangelical. In 1811 Marianne Francis met Arthur Young and until his death was very close to him. She spent many summers at Bradfield where she helped Young with his schools and prayer meetings. At times she served almost like a second secretary to the blind old man, but the relationship was a very intimate and affectionate one on both sides, almost like grandfather and granddaughter.

When Marianne Francis started writing to the famous Mrs. Piozzi she was a girl of sixteen with a " crush " on a celebrity. In 1807 she signed herself in one letter, " I am ever my dear Mrs. Piozzi's madly attached Marianne Francis ".[4] In addition to her study of foreign languages, she exhibits some familiarity with modern poetry. She considered " Marmion " inferior to the

[1] The reference to his " papers on religious subjects " is to the selections which he later published from the works of Richard Baxter and John Owen as *Baxteriana* (1815) and *Oweniana* (1817).

[2] John Rylands Library, English MS. 582-4. See W. Wright Roberts, " Charles and Fanny Burney in the light of the new Thrale Correspondence in the John Rylands Library ", BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xvi (1932), 115-36. Mr. Roberts seems to have made an error in citing the number of these manuscripts (p. 130) as 589-91. There is some further material on Marianne Francis in the same volume, pp. 12-14, under the heading " Library Notes and News ".

[3] R. Brimley Johnson, *Fanny Burney and the Burneys*, p. 358.

[4] John Rylands Library, English MS. 582, fol. 5 (30 April 1807).

"Lays".[1] Her habit of early rising had been gained from a reading of Thomson's "Seasons".[2] She admired Crabbe, ". . . the best modern Poet, almost, I think, is Crabbe . . .".[3] Her evaluation of the Lake poets is amusing:

> Coleridge and Wordsworth are read very much, who have published sets of Sonnets & Odes, & short Poems that are simple & pretty, but the thoughts not very new—so they are in general thought to be *trashy*.[4]

She was a vigorous feminist who rather resented her grandfather's distaste for her devotion to the classics: "I believe no man ever yet sincerely tolerated a dead language in a live female. . . ."[5]

In the summer of 1811 Marianne and her mother spent several months at Bradfield. Of course she told Mrs. Piozzi all about it, and her letters throw much light upon Bradfield and its septuagenarian owner.

> Sept. 8. This dear Arthur Young is a delightful old man—so good & kind & patient under his sad *poetic* complaint of blindness. . . . I scour about in the grounds, which are delightful, with magnificent trees, & beautifully laid out by Mr. Young himself—the shade & the air—& the good Library—& a kind welcome—make amends for want of a Pianoforte. . . . Arthur Young believes in *steam engines*—& says it is the maxim of some famous farmer that the science will never be brought to perfection till every farm is a circle & the steam engine in the centre to do all the work. . . .[6]
>
> Sept. 24. You *would* like Arthur Young, & he would adore you—has such true enjoyment for excellence of any sort—admires you & Dr. Johnson as much as the Plough & the Steam-Engine, which is saying a great deal for *him* . . .& famous, *very* famous I believe he *has* been in his time—medals without end, for his services; the king of England sending him Rams & the Empress of Russia snuffboxes, for his labours. . . . But a Pond & a Boat & an island to row to, are delightful to me. . . .[7]
>
> Oct. 18. . . . & till the leave taking & packing up moments arrived, all I had were spent in reading & writing for Mr. Young, whose constant amanuensis was unfortunately cut down with a fever—of course I felt but too happy in devoting my poor services to our kind & hospitable Friend . . . who was so well content with my Secretaryship, that if the funds fail, he advises me to make it my *profession*. . . . I saw some beautiful letters from Wilberforce to him—there is a great Friendship between them—He has Wilberforce's picture in his drawing-room—his book in his Library, his name upon his lips—and, better than all—his *spirit* in his heart. . . .

[1] John Rylands Library, English MS. 582, fol. 17 (24 April 1808).
[2] Ibid. fol. 54 (28 March 1810).
[3] Ibid. fol. 26 (4 October 1808).
[4] Ibid. fol. 19 (10 June 1808).
[5] Ibid. fol. 53 (9 March 1810).
[6] Ibid. 583, fol. 82.
[7] Ibid. fol. 83.

30 or 40 poor neighbouring children are cloathed & educated by Mr. Young, & on Sunday they always come to be instructed in religion. I am very fond of teaching poor children, though they *are* such fools: & he used to make me hear them the Catechism. . . . There is only service *once* in the day; so every Sunday evening, from 80 to 100 poor Tenants & Villagers come to the Hall—forms placed for their reception; St. Croix reads a sermon; Mr. Young comments upon it afterwards & talks to them *admirably*; then makes a beautiful prayer & they go home. He is so innocent & humble about all his excellent devices; says he has no other ambition but to be a *rival to the Alehouse;* that it is better they should all come to him than go *there*—You may think how sorry we must have been to come away; but he insists on our corresponding with him.[1]

In 1812 Marianne was again at Bradfield during the summer and fall. Her comment on Mrs. Young reinforces the general impression: "How is it, that *good men*, from the days of Job, to those of Arthur Young, are plagued by their *wives?*"[2] That summer Young and Marianne were bothered not only by "vipers & hornets",[3] but also by a "poaching Parson" who had taken a curacy to enjoy the shooting.[4] In one passage she commented on Young's schools somewhat more in detail:

In Suffolk I was much employed in Mr. Young's Schools for poor children, superintending the mistresses & endeavouring to introduce the new mode of monitors: making the children teach each other. I had many more than 100 scholars, & felt regret at leaving the poor little things.[5]

Again at Bradfield in 1813, Marianne described Young's *fête champêtre* for his schools in a letter of October 4 to Mrs. Piozzi:

Our humble theatre was a barn; the scenery, branches of oak & ash with flowers, wh. concealed the walls, & made it look like Rosamund's bower; the *actors*, Mr. Young's school, 130 children. *The parts* they had to perform, were all alike, & had more to do with the teeth than the tongue, being the consumption of beef & plumb-pudding, with a profusion of which the tables were covered. We waited on the children ourselves, who, tho' they did not *look*, like Despair as if they "*never dined*", certainly *eat* as if they never had before. After this, they sung a hymn; & when they had enough eating & playing to their hearts' content, we all went to church. Our Rector preached an excellent, simple sermon on the benevolent words of our Saviour: "Suffer little children to come unto me": & there our day's happiness closed: the children went to their home, & we returned to ours. It was melancholy to see dear Mr. Young in the midst of so much innocent gratification, all of his own creating, unable to behold it: yet

[1] John Rylands Library, English MS. 583, fol. 84. William de St. Croix was Young's secretary.

[2] Ibid. fol. 99 (10 August 1812).

[3] Ibid. fol. 101 (26 September 1812).

[4] Ibid. fol. 100 (1 September 1812).

[5] Ibid. fol. 104 (28 November 1812).

it was *delightful* too, at his great age, 73, to see him so anxious to contribute to the happiness of others, & taking so much pleasure in *hearing* that they were pleased.[1]

While at Bradfield late in 1817, Marianne wrote about a meeting of the Bible Society at Bradfield Hall:

We had the anniversary of a Bible Socy held here, at Bradfield Hall, last Tuesday, 5 clergymen attended, & spoke; & good Mr. Arth. Young, who is almost 80 years old, & perfectly [word omitted] but his heart warm in the cause, took the chair. Farmers, poor people, & rich poured in, from all quarters. Nearly £50 were collected to supply the neighbouring poor with Bibles. . . .[2]

Finally in 1820 there is Marianne's letter telling Mrs. Piozzi of Arthur Young's death:

We have just lost our kind, excellent, pious old friend Mr. Arthur Young—I saw him two days ago, little thinking it was for the last time. He was suffering, I grieve to say, under a most excruciating malady, the stone, which was almost immediately fatal. This loss has deeply affected us all, who were much attached, (my mother particularly) to our most excellent old friend & relative. . . . Poor dear Mr. Young!—it is a blessed transition for him to the place where there is none of the pain which racked him here; but his gain is the loss of his country, his friends, the poor, to whom he was a friend indeed, & all who knew him, except the fashionable world, from whom, in conformity to a high authority . . . he had long come out & separated himself before that heavy deprivation, loss of sight overtook him.[3]

The only notable private collection of letters from Arthur Young to a personal friend are those to Thomas Ruggles, which are preserved at Spains Hall, Essex, where there is also a very fine pastel portrait of Young done by John Russell in 1795.[4] There are twelve of these letters which run from 1795 to 1811. Thomas Ruggles was one of Young's oldest and best friends and had been a school fellow at Lavenham. He was a lawyer, a writer on the poor laws, and eventually became Treasurer of the

[1] John Rylands Library, English MS. 583, fol. 117.

[2] Ibid. 584, fol. 151 (6 November 1817).

[3] Ibid. fol. 160 (14 April 1820).

[4] I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Col. Sir Edward A. Ruggles-Brise for allowing me to see the letters of Arthur Young, to have them copied, and to use them. This portrait, which I consider the finest portrait of Young, was reproduced by Miss Defries as the frontispiece for her biography. There is one other major portrait, a pencil drawing made by George Dance in 1794, which now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. It has been reproduced in Constantia Maxwell, *Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges*, opposite p. 192.

Temple. The letter quoted in part below is a good example of Young's epistolary style before he became religious, and reflects some of his interests and activities when at the height of his powers.

London: feb 26. 95

Dr. Ruggles,

I rec^{d}. your favour in which I am ready to confess you complain with some degree of reason for I have been but a bad correspondent; I have however to plead much ill-health—much anxiety—and a great deal of business, for the Board has been so anxious on the subject of Potatoes and the apprehended Scarcity that I have worked double tides; and not only have had to dictate L^{rs}. for hours, but to write memoirs into the bargain. I believe from the returns which I have rec^{d}. from above thirty counties that the apprehension is not well founded and that there is corn enough in the kingdom to last with the spare consumption that always attends a high price till the next crop.

In regard to y^{r} papers on the poor, the Annals have not prospered of late w^{ch} made me reduce them, in y^{t} situation it will not do to print matter already before the public—but I shall consider of it in better times—I have thought more than once of dropping the work entirely, but y^{e} dead stock of £3000 in my warehouse prevents doing anything rashly. It is a beggarly landed interest that cannot support one periodical public^{n} on that subject.

Why do you complain of having spent y^{r} money, seeing that it is to make a comfortable house in w^{ch} you will live happily *in the family way*: the only way a man can be happy at all; and I am one instance of the want of it. . . .

I have not had good spirits, or too good health; otherwise I should pass this winter agreeably enough. I have been much sought after and had a good round of dinners with evenings well enough in circles that never see a card table, but I like the country and more quiet scenes. I have established a farmers club that meets for the first time next saturday at the thatch'd house and consists at present of the Dukes of Bedford, Buccleugh & Montrose, The Earls of Egremont and Winchilsea, Lord Darnley—Sirs Joseph Banks, J^{o}n Sinclair, J^{o}n Call—Fra^{s} Basset—Peter Burrel—M. P.s Coke, Sumner, Fergusson, also Hervey Astors, Vordyce, Surveyor General—Mr. Northey—Mr. Conyers of Essex, and y^{r} hble Serv^{t}. There is no such club, and I hardly named it but it took like Wildfire.

What do you say to politicks? To the thriving, growing, rising, increasing resources—the inexhaustable resources of this country y^{t} will bear in one year 16 hund. thous. pounds new taxes & laugh at them like a feather. . . . I have not thank'd you enough for y^{r} L^{rs}. but I am very grateful—Take my best rememb. to Mrs. Ruggles and all friends at Clare. What is Shrino doing? Does he keep a pretty maid yet? The dog will never leave that work off. Adieu My good friend believe me with great truth

Yrs faithfully

A. Y.

I hope you plant 10 acres of potatoes.[1]

[1] On 23 January Young had issued a questionnaire on the food scarcity, to which he received seventy-nine replies. The text of this questionnaire is to be

One other important but non-manuscript source in England for Arthur Young's life is to be found in the files of the *Bury and Norwich Post*. This weekly newspaper was started in 1782. The local news items do not contain much material about Arthur Young, but he was an inveterate letter writer both on local and national affairs. The columns devoted to public advertisements show that Young frequently took the lead in calling meetings and sometimes presided at them. Thus in 1782 he engaged in a spirited controversy with Capel Lofft in the *Bury Post* over the advisability of county subscriptions to furnish ships for the war against France. The files of the same paper show what an active role he played in 1787-8 in arousing public opinion in Suffolk against the proposed wool bill. Early in 1792 he organized a campaign against mad dogs, while later in the same year he was agitating for the establishment of a wool fair for Norfolk and Suffolk to be held in Thetford. Still later in that year Young was writing in opposition to certain tithe abuses. The files of this newspaper also reveal that Young was for many years an active Justice of the Peace.[1]

By far the largest number of letters *by* Arthur Young is to be found in the New York Public Library. They are part of the

found in the *Annals*, xxiv (1795), 42-3, and Ruggles' reply on pp. 138-9. In 1793-4 Ruggles had published a two volume work, *History of the Poor*, to which Young was probably referring. Ruggles had already published much in the *Annals*, including articles entitled, "Picturesque Farming", "Gleaning", and "On the Police of the Poor". "Vordyce" must be a mistake, and probably J. Fordyce was meant. "Shrino" is what the letter appears to read, but the reference is probably to William Shrive of Clare, a neighbour and friend of Ruggles. He was listed as one of the charter members of the Melford Agricultural Society, *Annals*, xx (1793), 409. On 13 June 1796 Young had dinner with Shrive, a fine meal of tench, *Annals*, xxviii (1797), 99-100.

[1] There is a file of this newspaper in the Cullum Library at Bury St. Edmunds. At first it was *The Bury Post, and Universal Advertiser*. In 1786 it became *The Bury and Norwich Post : or, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex Advertiser*. I was able to examine these files in person to 1792. From that date until 1820 notes were taken for me by Roger H. Sheldon, at that time a graduate student at Oxford, and by Miss J. Dimock of Bury St. Edmonds. Capel Lofft, 1751-1824, was a neighbour, a fellow J.P., a Radical in his politics. Personal relations between Young and Lofft were on the whole amicable enough, but politically they were always on opposite sides.

Burney Papers in the Berg Collection.[1] There are more than 100 letters by him to Marianne Francis, her mother Charlotte Broome, and her sister Charlotte Barrett. They begin in 1811 and continue to within six months of his death. They are interesting primarily as showing Young's relations with Marianne and as reflections of his religious views and activities. In one letter he described himself as "your poor old blind papa",[2] while in another he wrote, ". . . you are young enough to be the youngest of a very numerous family by a very late marriage".[3] He felt her absence from Bradfield in the summer of 1814 so acutely as to remind one of his grief at Bobbin's death:

. . . the three last summers I had my little companion whose company caused perpetual chearfulness [*sic*]; her various employments; her benevolent attentions to the poor people; the steady regularity with which she attended to the cultivation of her own mind; and the constant spring of a vivacity which never failed, were so truly pleasing to me, that the loss of all sits as a cloud as dark as blindness itself. I have poaked [*sic*] about the Library and felt the little girl's chair and table, her desk and her drawer, and even the barley box from which she fed the chickens,—all in their place, but unanimated by her who rendered them agreeable. . . .[4]

Young had always regulated his time carefully. In a letter to Marianne he described his typical day at Bradfield in 1811, a routine which would probably have varied but little during the last decade of his life:

My day is thus past. I rise between 5 and 6 pray to God the best I can, walk in the Hall &c 25 yards, till 7, then Mr St. Croix reads a prayer and a chapter in the Bible with Scott's practical observations; then the religious papers for arrangement, till half past nine, dress and breakfast at ten, then wool gathering till two; walk in the rope walk with Jane till three, then newspapers and letters, then wool till five; after dinner Jane reads a Chapter in Bennetts intermediate state, and too often a nap till tea at 8 but not always; after tea, that is from nine till ten Sully's memoirs, having finished Thibauts recollections of Berlin; at ten a chapter in the Testament and prayer; bed by half past ten: such is the day, how do you like it?[5]

[1] I am greatly indebted to the Curator of the Berg Collection, Dr. John D. Gordon, for permission to make use of these letters and to make the quotations from them which appear in the following paragraphs.

[2] New York Public Library, Berg Collection, Burney Papers, Arthur Young to Marianne Francis, 10 November 1813.

[3] Ibid. 6 December 1811.

[4] Ibid. 4 July 1814.

[5] Ibid. 6 December 1811. The books referred to are in order: Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible . . . with original notes, practical observations*; George

The only other important collection of letters by Arthur Young in the United States, besides those to Sir Joseph Banks already noted above, are six letters in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., which Young wrote to George Washington. They cover a span of eight years, the first in 1786 and the last in 1794.[1] The first letter in the series is indicative of the tact with which Young usually approached men who were more important than he.

Bradfield Hall near
Bury Suffolk
Jan: 7, 1786

Sir

I scarcely know what apology to make for a letter so out of common forms as the present; but the spectacle of a great commander retiring in the manner you have done from y^e^ head of a victorious army to the amusements of agriculture, calls all the feelings of my bosom into play & gives me the strongest inclination, I fear an impotent one, to endeavour in the smallest degree to contribute to the success of so laudable a pleasure. I should not however have been so abrupt, had I not received an application to assist in procuring you a bailiff well skilled in English husbandry, for w^ch^ purpose I had made inquiries, & doubt not should have succeeded, but I hear fr^o^ M^r^ Rack of Batts y^t^ he has met with one likely to suit you: In this little negotiation M^r^ Fairfax gave something of a sanction to the liberty I at present take in addressing you.

I have sent you by M^r^ Athawes of London the first four volumes of the Annals of Agriculture a work I am at present publishing. Will you do me the honour of accepting them, as a very small mark of my veneration for the character of a man whose private virtues rendered a cause successful and illustrious, which I have been solicitous as an englishman to condemn. Permit me also to send by the same conveyance the rest of the Volumes as they are published.

But Sir—as my love of agriculture is even stronger y^n^ y^t^ I feel for any species of military glory, you must permit me to speak to you as a brother farmer; & to beg, that if you want men, cattle, tools, seeds, or anything else that may add to y^r^ rural amusement, favour me with your commands, & believe me I shall take a very sincere pleasure in executing them.

I find by y^e^ extract from your letter sent me that you have discontinued Tobacco & maiz [*sic*] & wish a well regulated farm in the english culture: your expression concerning manure being the best transmutation towards gold, is good, and shews that you may be as great a farmer as a general. The culture

Bennet, *Olam Hanashamoth, or a View of the Intermediate State* . . . (1800); Dieudonné Thiébault, *Original Anecdotes of Frederick the Second* . . . (1805); *Memoirs of the Duke of Sully*. I think "wool gathering" refers to his work on the *Elements of Agriculture*.

[1] The Papers of George Washington, vols. 234, no fol. number; 237, fols. 257-69; 241, fols. 322-5; 253, fols. 218-29; 258, fols. 217-25; 267, fols. 240-2.

of those plants that support cattle you will probably find the true means of improvement, & amongst those, turneps [*sic*], cabbages and potatoes are very important.

Permit me to remain
with the greatest Respect
Sir, Your most obed[t]
& Devoted Serv[t]
Arthur Young.[1]

An examination of Young's later letters to Washington makes it seem quite probable that his main object in opening the correspondence was to procure letters from the great American to insert in the *Annals of Agriculture*. Washington was adamant, however, in his refusal.[2] Young's letters are confined almost entirely to agricultural matters. In one he sent Washington a detailed plan for a barn which was actually erected on one of Washington's farms.[3] Some of the letters are very long, one running to twenty pages. This latter one was in reply to one from Washington which contained accounts of four farms, one of them that of Thomas Jefferson. Young was incredulous about the details of these farms, for he could not understand the wastes of the slave plantation system, and he was shocked that American farmers paid so little attention to careful farm accounting and to the desirability of keeping a large stock of cattle. In this letter Young threw aside the deference which had marked his first letter.

Your information has thrown me affloat [*sic*] upon the High Seas. To analyze your husbandry has the difficulty of a problem: I cannot understand it; and the more I know of it the more surprizing it appears. Is it possible

[1] The Papers of George Washington, vol. 234, no fol. number. Mr. Fairfax was George William Fairfax, 1724-87, who was living at that time at Bath. Mr. Rack was Edmund Rack, first secretary of what afterwards became the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society.

[2] After Washington's death Young published Washington's letters to him in a small volume entitled *Letters from his Excellency George Washington to Arthur Young* . . . (London, 1801). Two years later there appeared at Alexandria, Virginia, a volume entitled *Letters from his Excellency George Washington, to Arthur Young . . . and Sir John Sinclair.*

[3] Papers of Washington, vol. 237, fols. 257-69. The date is 1 February 1787. Young printed the plans for this barn in the *Annals*, xvi (1791), 149-55. The barn was constructed on Washington's "Union Farm". Cf. Paul L. Haworth, *George Washington, Country Gentleman*, p. 117.

that the inhabitants of a great continent not new settlers who of course live only to hunt, to eat and to drink can carry on farming and planting as a business and yet never calculate the profits they make by *percentage* on their capital? Yet this seems to be the case. . . .

But I have a heavier objection than this and which bears upon the pith of the subject. How can M^r^ Jefferson produce annually 5000 bushels of wheat worth £750 by means of a cattle product of only £125? I do not want to come to America to know that this is simply impossible: At the commencement of a term it may do; but how long will it last? This is the management that gives such products as 8 and 10 bushels an acre. Arable land can yield wheat only by means of cattle and sheep It is not dung that is wanted so much as a change of products & repose under grass, which is the soul of management. . . . it is only by increasing cattle that you can increase wheat *permanently*. £125 from cattle to £750 from wheat would reduce the finest farm in the world to a caput mortuum. . . . I should however be greatly obliged by an explanation from M^r^ Jefferson.[1]

Quite possibly many more letters by Arthur Young will come to light. Unfortunately he was not quite an important enough figure for all of his letters to have been saved. He probably wrote several hundred letters to Sir John Sinclair which would undoubtedly throw much additional light upon the Board of Agriculture. His position as the spokesman of the agricultural interests would be much clearer if his letters to the 5th and 6th Dukes of Bedford, Thomas Coke of Norfolk, Lord Sheffield, and the 3rd Earl of Egremont could be found. Very likely he wrote more than 100 letters to William Wilberforce, chiefly on religious subjects. The problems of his private life and personal character would probably be largely resolved if one could discover his letters to Dr. Charles Burney and Fanny Burney, to John Arbuthnot, the Rev. John Symonds, to Maximilien Lazowski and the Duc de Liancourt, and, above all, to Mrs. Betsy Oakes.

[1] Papers of Washington, vol. 258, fols. 217-19. The date is 17 January 1793. Much of this letter is published in *Letters from . . . Washington to . . . Young . . . and . . . Sinclair* (1803), pp. 87-92. For Washington's letter with its enclosures, see ibid. 50-78. Jefferson's account to which Young took exception is on pp. 57-61 and Jefferson's answer to Young on pp. 93-5.

A LIST OF SOME UNCATALOGUED SYRIAC BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

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IN the second half of the nineteenth century all the important Syriac collections stored in the libraries of the British Museum in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the University Library in Cambridge and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris were catalogued by the great scholars of those days—Wright, Payne-Smith and Zotenberg.[1] The most important parts of their collections in existence today were already at that time in these libraries. A small number of manuscripts and various fragments, however, have been bought by these libraries since then, but they have not been considered numerous enough to warrant the compiling of additional catalogues. The new acquisitions have thus remained virtually unknown.

In order to give some information concerning these uncatalogued manuscripts, I feel it important to supply the following short notes which I collected while engaged in the study of Syriac manuscripts of the Old Testament in the libraries of Manchester,[2] Paris, London, Oxford and Cambridge. There I had recourse, naturally, to these uncatalogued manuscripts as well, and I noted down for my own reference—without any purpose in mind at the time of preparing them for publication later—various comments and descriptions of the biblical texts and commentaries found among them. These notes by necessity, therefore, represent my own interest in each manuscript, and do not give uniform information of the type usually found

[1] Followed later by Chabot, *T.A.*, *IX^e série*, *VIII* (1896) and Margoliouth, *Descriptive list of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum* (1899). I learn from Prof. A. Vööbus that, although unknown to the Department of Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale itself, a few of the additional manuscripts in Paris have already been described by F. Nau in his paper "Notices des manuscripts syriaques, ethiopiens et mandéens" in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xvi (1911), 271 ff. The manuscripts 341-43, 348, 355, 356 have been mentioned there in brief, but not described fully enough.

[2] The John Rylands Library, abbreviated J-R.

in a handlist.[1] I am hopeful, however, that the information found in my list will enable scholars to get some idea of these manuscripts, hitherto unknown.

Almost all of these Syriac collections are too well known to make any introductory remarks necessary. The only Syriac collection which has not been described as yet is the collection in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. A few words about this important collection may therefore be not inappropriate.

The J-R Syriac collection has been built up from several smaller collections :

1. The most precious manuscripts come from the great collection of manuscripts which belonged to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.[2]

2. A few manuscripts either belonged to Dr. J. Rendel Harris,[3] or were brought by him from the Orient.[4] It is not impossible, however, that some of his manuscripts were in the library temporarily only, and were taken away later on.[5]

3. Several manuscripts were bought for J-R by Dr. A. Mingana [6] while he was in the Orient.[7]

[1] Some fragments, therefore, are dealt with rather extensively, while a liturgic Psalter-manuscript or a Gospel-lectionary may be but casually mentioned. Owing to the very restricted time I had at my disposal to spend in most of the above mentioned libraries, I have been reluctant to assign dates to many manuscripts, especially to those written after the twelfth century. Exact measurements could not be taken of the folio sizes, and general remarks must suffice instead.

[2] These volumes have been marked in our list.

[3] Dr. Rendel Harris came to J-R after his retirement from Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak, Birmingham (1918-25). For manuscripts which belonged originally to him, cf. the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, v. 116.

[4] Cf. BULLETIN, xxv. 56.

[5] This assumption would explain why I was unable to find one manuscript, which apparently must have been at one time in the library. Furthermore, when I checked the numbers of the collection, four manuscripts—52, 58, 60 and 63 in Dr. Mingana's numbering—could not be found. I understand, however, that these numbers may have been skipped inadvertently. I have filled the gaps with four fragments, which were previously entered together with MS. 47.

[6] Dr. Mingana was on the staff of the library from 1915 until 1932, in the end as keeper of the Oriental manuscripts. No scholar was more qualified than he to publish a list of the Syriac manuscripts in this library. Such, indeed, was his intention (cf. BULLETIN, ix. 337 and the volume published in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the J-R Library [1924], p. 98). Unfortunately, however, such a comprehensive catalogue still remains to be compiled.

[7] See *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, iii (1939), p. vii.

4. A few manuscripts were once part of Mingana's own collection, before the idea of a special Oriental collection in the Selly Oak colleges was conceived.[1]

5. A small number has been acquired from individuals, as occasion arose.[2]

Most of the additional uncatalogued Cambridge manuscripts come from the library of the late David Jenks, who was a member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Assyrian Christians, and whose library was left by bequest to the University Library, Cambridge, in 1935. A handlist was prepared by the Rev. A. E. Goodman, but never published.[3] The acquisitions of the other libraries are of an occasional nature.

My thanks are due to the librarians and keepers of manuscripts at all the libraries where I was privileged to work for their most obliging help in facilitating my studies.

A. Complete Bibles

Paris

Syr. 341. A volume containing the greater part of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha,[4] written on parchment. It contains 252 folios (3 col.)[5] of large size. It is written in an early small Estrangelo hand (eighth-ninth century).

This seems to be the earliest manuscript which contained both the Old and the New Testaments as well as the Apocrypha, and is, furthermore, illuminated.[6] In its present state the volume is fragmentary; a late Nestorian-Estrangelo hand has added

[1] See Bulletin, ix. 349.

[2] Altogether, the collection consists of sixty-eight manuscripts and fourteen volumes of photographs. The latter were acquired for Mingana for his work on the first three volumes of his *Woodbrooke Studies*.

[3] For another uncatalogued Cambridge manuscript, cf. my paper "Eine Cambridger Syrohexaplahandschrift" in *Le Muséon*, 1954.

[4] All the manuscripts contain the Peshitta version, unless otherwise stated.

[5] Actually 253 folios, since there exists fol. 1 bis.

[6] The miniatures of this manuscript have been investigated by H. Omont, *Monuments et mémoires publ. par la AJBL*, 1911, pp. 201-10, and by Buchthal-Kurz, *Handlist of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, 1942, p. 21. Cf. also C. R. Gregory in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1913, p. 92.

some missing leaves at the beginning [1] and has re-written some fading letters. Sometimes vowel-signs have been added by a later hand (the same?). The quires have been numbered sporadically only.[2] The chapters (*ṣeḥāḥē*) are marked and some headings are given, e.g. ܫܠܡ ܘܢܚܠ : ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬ ܒܪܫܝܬ

The original Estrangelo manuscript begins at Gen. xxi. 29. Then follow Exod. (8a), Lev. (17b), Num. (25a), Deut. (36b), Job (46a), Joshua (52b), Judges (59b), Ruth (66a), Sam. (67b), Kings (84a), Chron. (101a), Prov. (113a), Eccles. (124a), Song (126a), Wisdom (126b), Isaiah (131a), Jeremiah (143b), Epp. Bar. & Jer. (159a), Ezekiel (162a), Duod. (174a), Susanna (185a), Daniel (186a), Psalms and biblical hymns [3] (191a), Esther (206b), Judith (208a), Ezra (212a), Sir. (218b), 1-2 Macc. (245b). On folio 246 there is a break, and the remaining leaves contain the fragments from the New Testament: The end of Luke and the beginning of John (246 bis), the end of Acts (247), James (248a), Phil. (249a), Col. (249b), Tim. (250a), Titus (250b), Philem. and Heb. incomplete (251a).

B. Old Testaments

Manchester

Syr. 3. A fragment of the Hagiographa and Apocrypha, containing 205 folios of large size. The volume was written in the fifteenth-sixteenth century (?) in a Nestorian hand. Originally it formed part of the Crawford collection. The volume contains: Macc., Chron. (74a), Ezra (134a), Wisd. (157a), Judith (171a), Esther (184b), Susanna (191b), Epp. Jer. & Bar. (194b). The portions have been marked in the margin.

The text of Macc. is identical with the recension published by Lagarde, not with the one preserved in the *Ambrosianus*.[4]

[1] Even some of these, however, have been lost, and the volume begins now with Gen. viii.

[2] If not otherwise stated, each quire in a Syriac manuscript consists of ten leaves.

[3] Many manuscripts contain at the end of the Book of Psalms some biblical hymns, e.g. the Song of Moses, the Song of Isaiah, etc.

[4] Cf. on this question G. Schmidt, "Die beiden syrischen Übersetzungen des I. Maccabaerbuches" in *ZAW*, 1897, p. 1 ff., 233 ff.

The text of Chron. contains some variant readings not noted by Barnes.[1]

4. A fragment of the Prophets and Psalms, written on Chinese paper. The volume contains 232 folios of medium size, and was written in 1727 at Peking in a Chinese Estrangelo hand.

This manuscript was formerly MS. 359 in the collection of S. de Sacy, and was described by him in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xii. (1831), 277 ff.[2] The text begins on fol. 3a with Isa. xxvii. 7; then follow Duod., Jer., Ezek., Dan. and Ps. (in part). The manuscript was copied carefully from an old parchment volume, which had been brought to China about 1220 C.E.[3] There are a number of interesting forms, which deserve closer study.[4]

7. The Book of Psalms, containing 152 folios of small size. This volume was copied on 25 October 1519 in Rome,[5] in a very neat, almost European, Jacobite hand. Occasionally Latin headings are inserted. The first leaf of the manuscript is missing and the volume begins now in the middle of Ps. i. 1.[6]

25. A fragment of Psalms, containing 62 folios of medium size. The manuscript is written in a rather late Jacobite hand.[7] The volume begins with Ps. xxxiii; the last pages are badly damaged.[8]

[1] W. E. Barnes, *An apparatus criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta version*, 1897. I had time to compare but one chapter, and further investigation may be worthwhile. There are also variants in the text of Ezra. Since this is a Nestorian manuscript, variants in these books are rather interesting.

[2] Mingana mentioned in BULLETIN, ix. 336 that this manuscript was then in the possession of J-R.

[3] This is stated by P. de Mailla in a French note at the end of the volume.

[4] In passing, I have noted ܢܗܝܒܘ ‘ ܢܥܒܕ instead of ܢܥܒܕ ܢܗܝܒܘ (Isa. xxvii. 7; 13).

[5] In the colophon on fol. 146a the scribe calls himself ܟܠܐ ܕ ܐܚܢܢ ܠܟܡܝܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܠܢܘܢ ܗܠܢܙܐ ܘܡܙܢܐ ܘܥܠܡ ܟܠ ܚܙܢܗ ܘܐܠܗܐ. A long list of contemporary ecclesiastics follows.

[6] The Book of Psalms ends on fol. 134. The paternoster and prayers fill the rest of the volume.

[7] As explained above—p. 430, n. 1—I refrain from assigning dates to such manuscripts. This one may date from the sixteenth-eighteenth century.

[8] The number of existing copies of the Psalms similar to this one is not small; their textual value, however, is nil.

57. A fragment of Psalms (ii-cxxiii) and prayers, containing 108 folios of small size, written in a Jacobite hand.[1]

Paris

335. A volume of fragments, containing 97 folios.[2] Fols. 56-7 contain Psalm i. 6-v. 8, written in an inelegant Jacobite hand of the fifteenth-seventeenth century. Fol. 57 should precede fol. 56.

348. The Book of Psalms, containing 163 folios of small size, written in a Jacobite hand. This volume was written *bathrā degezīrā*[3] *dehū 'al gebh ṭūrā dequrduh* (?).

London

Or. 5922. The Book of Psalms, containing 247 folios of small size. The manuscript is written in a Jacobite hand by the scribe *'Abd al-nūr*, and was finished in Adar 1900 Sel. = 1589 C.E. in the days of *Mar Ignatius*, called *Da' ūdshah* (?).[4]

This volume was written for choir, profusely rubricated and fully vocalised with mixed vowel-signs. Ps. i. begins on fol. 37a, being preceded by prefaces on the history and the different sections of the Psalms.

Or. 8609. Fragments of the Book of Genesis. Four large-sized parchment leaves (2 cols.), written in a very early Estrangelo (sixth-seventh century). Headings of the contents are given. The fragments contain Gen. xxiv. 41-xxvii. 22.

Or. 8610. Fragments of the Book of Samuel. Six medium-sized parchment leaves, written in an inelegant Estrangelo of the tenth century. Headings of the contents and daily portions are marked. The fragment contains the beginning of the Book of Samuel up to ii. 30.

Or. 8732. The Book of Isaiah in the *Syrohexaplaric recension*, written on parchment. It is written on fols. 57-136 of the volume, in which the first fifty-six leaves contain another manu-

[1] This volume is somewhat earlier than No. 25.

[2] Cf. below C.

[3] Probably the district called *Al-djazīra*.

[4] According to the colophon on fol. 243a. This is the earliest biblical manuscript acquired after 1900.

script.[1] This manuscript is written in a beautiful very early Estrangelo (eighth century).

This manuscript contained originally nine quires; the first is now missing and the text begins at Isa. iv. 5. It is identical with the text of the *Ambrosianus*. Some marginal notes in Greek are preserved, the lessons are marked.

Or. 9350. A volume of the *Bēth Mautebhē*,[2] containing 277 folios of large size. The manuscript is written in a beautiful modern Nestorian hand, and was finished on the first of Tammuz 2164 Sel. = 1853 C.E. The scribe is *Andreas bar Joseph* of *Tell Kēphē* (near Mossul). The text is fully vocalised. Quire 29 is the last numbered.

Oxford

Syr. c. 4. Fragments of Psalms, written on parchment. Two small-sized leaves, written in a neat early Estrangelo (seventh-eighth century), contain Ps. lxxii. 14-lxxiv. 14. The manuscript was written originally for liturgical use.

Syr. d. 1. Fragments of Psalms. Four medium-sized leaves written in an inelegant Jacobite hand of the fifteenth century. Vowel-signs have been added by a later hand. A Garshuni translation is given in parallel columns. The fragment contains Ps. lxxxi. 3-lxxxv. 8.

Syr. e. 2. Fragments of Psalms. Six rather small-sized leaves, written in a large Old Jacobite[3] hand of the twelfth-thirteenth century. Fol. 4a has an elaborately gilded Estrangelo heading, and the leaves are profusely rubricated. The fragment contains Ps. cxi. 3-cxviii. 90 in "leap-fashion".[4]

Heb. e. 73. This volume contains a hitherto undeciphered palimpsest on fols. 42-3. The lower script is apparently written in a Palestinian Syriac Estrangelo, and on both leaves the heading letters ܕܚܡܐ are clearly discernible. More cannot be said at the moment.[5]

[1] The "unorthodox" Peshitta-version of Ezra published by C. Moss in *Le Muséon*, xlvi (1933), 55-110.

[2] Joshua, Judges, Sam., Kings, Prov., Eccles., Ruth, Song. Sir., Job.

[3] I retain this term, although it is not very happy. A term like "estrangeloide Serto" would be, at least, clearer.

[4] For alternate reading of the verses by the choir.

[5] The use of ultra-violet rays was of no help.

Cambridge

Or. 1292. The Book of Psalms and the biblical hymns, containing 187 folios of medium size, written in a rather late, clear Nestorian hand. The manuscript contained originally nineteen quires. The introduction is missing now, and the volume begins with Ps. i. Headings and prayers (*hulālē*) are inserted.

C. New Testaments (Peshitta)

Manchester

1. A parchment volume of the Gospels, containing 227 folios (2 cols.) of large size. The volume is written in a beautiful early Estrangelo (seventh century) and belonged originally to the Crawford collection. Lessons and chapters (*ṣeḥāḥē*) are inserted in red ink. The parallel chapters in the other synoptic Gospels are noted at the bottom of the page.

The manuscript contains Matthew (2b), Mark (67b), Luke (107a) and John (175b). The margins have been repaired with new parchment, but from fol. 218 onward the leaves are damaged badly. Beginning with fol. 222 (John xviii. 8) a later Jacobite manuscript has been substituted.

2. The New Testament volume described by Gwynn in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* xxx (1893), 347 ff. and in his *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto unknown from a Manuscript in the library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres*, Dublin 1897.

The volume contains 252 [1] large-sized parchment leaves, and is written in an Old Jacobite hand of the twelfth century.[2] The volume contains the New Testament-Peshitta supplemented so as to conform with the Greek canon by the addition of the four minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse in what seems to be the *Philoxenian* recension.[3]

[1] Not 249 folios, as mentioned in *Transactions, etc.*, p. 348.

[2] This is the date of Gwynn, loc. cit. p. 366. All the details are given by him and need not be repeated here. Moss (loc. cit. p. 89) remarks that the script of this manuscript is related to that of the famous Buchanan-Bible in Cambridge.

[3] Not the *Harklean*, as sometimes erroneously stated. Cf. also Gwynn, *Remnants of the later Syriac versions of the Bible*, 1909, pp. xxx, xlv, 155, and Zuntz, *The ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, 1945, pp. 38 ff., 76.

11. The Acts and the Epistles, containing 134 large-sized folios (2 cols.), written in a modern Jacobite hand. The manuscript was finished in 1905, and was possibly written for Mingana. It contains Acts (1b), Cath. Epp. (38b), Epp. Clem. (54b) and Epp. Pauli (65b). Some marginal notes have been added.

12. A volume of the New Testament, containing 299 folios of medium size, written in a modern Nestorian hand. According to the colophon (fol. 298a) it was written by the presbyter *Habḥišō bar Vardā* and finished on the 18 Tammuz 1731 C.E. in Targavad (?). The chapters have not been marked.

15. The Acts and the Epistles, containing 186 folios of small size. The greater part of the volume is written in an Old Jacobite hand. Fols. 1, 57-9, 148-86 are additions by a later (fifteenth century?) hand. The original manuscript begins with Acts v. 16. The additional leaves contain all the Epistles up to the end of Hebrews. Lesson headings have been inserted in red ink.

Paris

335. Fol. 88 and fol. 89 from the above-mentioned volume of fragments. Fol. 88 is a medium-sized parchment leaf written in two columns and contains the end of the Epistle to Titus and the beginning of Phil. in an Old Jacobite hand (tenth century). Fol. 89 is a large parchment leaf, containing the parable of the husbandmen (Mark xii.) in a tenth-twelfth century Estrangelo.[1]

342. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment. It contains 253 folios of medium size, written in a clear Estrangelo hand. It was finished in 1205 Sel. = 894 C.E. The manuscript contained originally somewhat more than twenty-five quires. Fols. 1-11 and 252-3 have been added by a later inelegant Nestorian hand. The original manuscript begins with Matt. viii. 30; Heb. ends on fol. 249b.[2]

343. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment, containing 238 folios (2 cols.) of medium size. The manuscript

[1] From the same manuscript as fol. 89 comes apparently fol. 97, which is in a very fragmentary state. It contains the story of the Gerasene Demoniac (Luke viii).

[2] The rest of the volume contains stories about evangelists, etc.

is written in a tenth century Estrangelo. Fols. 1-54, 231 ff., are later additions on paper, apparently written in 1919 Sel. = 1608 C.E.[1] The original manuscript begins with Luke i. 22; Heb. ends on fol. 233a. The manuscript has been partly vocalised by the scribe himself.

360. A volume of the New Testament, written in a tenth century Estrangelo. The first eight quires are lost, and the volume contains now Luke vi. 31-Tim. i. 9.

361. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment, containing 275 folios (2 cols.) of medium size. The manuscript is written in a tenth century Estrangelo, but the beginning has been added from a later Nestorian paper manuscript. The original manuscript begins with Matt. xxvii. 10 (fol. 33); Heb. ends on fol. 255b. The lessons are marked on the margin.

363. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment, containing 183 folios (2 cols.) of fairly large size. The manuscript is written in an Estrangelo hand of the eleventh-thirteenth century. The volume begins with the second leaf of the fifth quire (Matt. xvii. 14); Heb. ends on fol. 183.

365. A volume of the New Testament, containing 264 folios of medium size in a clear Nestorian hand. The manuscript was finished in 1534 Sel. = 1223 C.E. The end is missing, and the beginning has been added from a later manuscript, written in an inelegant Nestorian hand. The original manuscript begins with Matt. ii. 19 (fol. 4).

378. A volume of fragments. Fols. 32-9 contain the beginning of Matt. up to iv. 11. The leaves are of medium size (2 cols.) and are written in a rather early Estrangelo (eighth century).

London

Or. 8607. A volume of fragments. Fols. 1-11 contain the Epistle to the Romans i. 1-xi. 22. The leaves are of medium size (2 cols.), and are written in an inelegant Estrangelo of the tenth-twelfth century. Some vowel signs have been added. The text is the upper writing of a palimpsest.

[1] This is the date given for the restoration of the manuscript, and fits as well from the paleographical point of view.

Oxford

Syr. d. 2. Two leaves (2 cols.) of medium size, containing Rom. vii. 2-11 ; viii. 9-26, written in an elegant Jacobite hand of the fourteenth-sixteenth century.

Syr. d. 7. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment, containing 227 folios (2 cols.) of medium size. The manuscript is written in an Old Jacobite hand of the tenth-twelfth century. The beginning and the end are missing. A later hand has added some vowel signs and retouched some of the faded letters. The chapters are noted on the margin.

The volume contains : Matt. iii. 5-Heb. viii. 5. The other books begin : Mark (29b), Luke (49a), John (83b), Acts (110b), Cath. Epp. (148b), Paul. Epp. (159b).

Syr. d. 12. A volume of the Gospels, containing 227 folios of medium size. The manuscript was written in 1520 Sel. = 1209 C.E.[1] in an Estrangelo hand. A few vowel signs were added later on. The chapters are marked in the margin.

The volume begins in the middle of the sixth quire with Matt. xxiii. 25 ; it breaks off with Mark ix. 29 (end of quire 11). For quire 12 a fifteenth-sixteenth century Jacobite manuscript, beginning with ix. 46, has been substituted. The original manuscript starts again with xii. 24 (fol. 61a), but breaks off again with John xii. 37 (fol. 205b), and the later manuscript is substituted up to xvii. 25 (fol. 214). The text ends with fol. 226a. Fol. 227 is part of a lost quire of the original manuscript and contains John xvii. 12-25.

Syr. e. 6. A volume of the Epistles, containing 205 folios of medium size. The manuscript was written in India in a Nestorian Estrangelo hand and completed on 8 May 2045 Sel. = 1734 C.E. It begins with James, and continues on fol. 27b with the Pauline Epistles.

Copt. c. 2. A fragment of a polyglot leaf from Egypt written in the sixteenth-seventeenth century.[2] It contains Luke

[1] In the days of Mar Michael, Patriarch of Antiochia, and Mar Gregorius, Metropolite of Mossul.

[2] I was unable to check whether it belongs to a series. Altogether, the different Oriental scripts do not give the impression that it was written by a Europea hand.

vii. 37-9, 42-4 in an unvocalised Jacobite hand. The other columns contain a Garshuni translation, and the Memphite, Armenian and Ethiopic versions.[1]

D. New Testaments (Harklean Recension)

Manchester

10. A volume of the Gospels with the commentary of *Dionysius bar Ṣalibi*[2] in parallel columns. The volume contains 304 folios of large size, written in a modern Jacobite hand.[3] The first thirty leaves contain introductory matter;[4] then follow Matt. (30b), Mark (107b), Luke (158b) and John (243b).

38. A volume of the Gospels containing the Syriac text and a Garshuni translation in parallel columns. The manuscript consists of 229 folios of large size, written in a neat Jacobite hand. It was finished in Tammuz, 1909. The lessons are marked and a table of chapters prefixed.

Paris

364. A volume of the New Testament, written on parchment, containing 156 folios (2 cols.) of medium size. The manuscript is written in an Old Jacobite hand of the eleventh-twelfth century, and contains Matt. xxi. 37-2 Tim. i. 12.[5] The lessons have been marked. The first and the last pages are damaged.

[1] Since the Ethiopic version has not been catalogued by Ullendorf in his recent catalogue, I have taken down the following details. The fragment contains verses 34-7, 39-41. Noteworthy variants, as compared with the printed text, are: *watəbēləwwō* (34), *yəmsaḥō*, *bētō lafarasāwī*, *wamaṣā't (!)* (35), *wazaḳama 'əfō yə'tī ḳama ḫāṭə't yə'tī zātī bə'sīt 'ənta təgassəsō* (39), *ḳəl'ētū'a hallawū* (41).

[2] Cf. the edition of J. Sedlaček and J-B Chabot in *Scriptores Syri*, tome 98, Paris, 1906.

[3] Since this manuscript was written in Mardin by the scribe *Eliya Daulabāni*, as mentioned on fols. 236a and 304b, it is almost certain that it was copied specially for Mingana, as this scribe used to copy several manuscripts for him, e.g. No. 37 of this collection (see below).

[4] The essentials of Doctrine as formulated by *Bar Ṣalibi*, a short sketch of history, biographic notes on saints and holy teachers, etc.

[5] The Epistles show the Peshitta text.

London

Or. 9355. A volume of the New Testament with excerpts from numerous commentaries, containing 429 folios, written in a mediocre modern Jacobite hand. The Harklean Gospels end on fol. 306b. The parallel chapters from the other synoptic Gospels are marked at the bottom of the page.

Oxford

Syr. e. 12. A fragment of a much damaged Gospel volume, written on parchment. The manuscript contains 75 folios of small size, and is written in a late Old Jacobite hand (twelfth-fourteenth century). It begins with the tenth leaf of the tenth quire (Mark xv. 33), and ends with John vi. 67. The lessons are marked on the margin.

Cambridge

227. A volume of the Gospels written on parchment, containing 208 folios of small size. The manuscript was finished in 1373 Sel. = 1062 C.E.[1] The parallel chapters in the other synoptic Gospels are marked at the bottom of the page, and preceding each Gospel a list of chapters is given. Single Coptic words are written on the margin. The volume begins with Matt. ii; then follow Mark (60b), Luke (99b) and John (165b).

E. Gospel Lectionaries

Manchester

66. A Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension for festivals and Sundays, written on parchment. The manuscript contains 176 folios (2 cols.) of fairly large size. It is written in an Old Jacobite hand of the tenth-eleventh century. Some leaves are missing.[2]

69. A fragment of a Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension, written on parchment. The volume contains 75 folios (2 cols.) of fairly large size, and is written in a rather early

[1] The colophon is almost illegible; only the century may be read with certainty.

[2] Cf. No. 69 below.

Old Jacobite hand. It is older than no. 66 and, in fact, seems to be one of the oldest lectionaries to contain the Harklean recension. The volume is slightly damaged and the margins have been repaired.

Paris

355. A Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension, written on parchment. The volume contains 285 folios (2 cols.) of large size, and is written in a twelfth century Estrangelo. Greek and Syriac variants have been added in the margin. Towards the end some leaves are missing.

This volume is one of the most beautiful of Syriac manuscripts, containing, as it does, eight miniatures (partly faded) and elaborately gilded and coloured headings and tables of contents.[1]

356. Beginning of a Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension, written on parchment.[2] The fragment contains 6 folios (2 cols.) of large size and is written in a twelfth century Estrangelo. It contains a coloured table of contents and miniatures.[3]

362. A Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension, containing 169 folios (2 cols.) of rather large size, written in an Old Jacobite hand of the eleventh-twelfth century. The volume begins with the second leaf of the fourth quire, and ends with the last leaf of the twentieth. Some Greek notes are added in the margin. The lessons are marked sporadically.

382. A fragment of a Gospel lectionary in the Peshitta recension, written on parchment. The fragment contains 8 leaves (2 cols.) of medium size, and is written in a late inelegant Nestorian hand (fifteenth-seventeenth century).

London

Or. 11833. A fragment of a Gospel lectionary in the Harklean recension, written on parchment. The fragment contains 5 leaves (2 cols.) of fairly large size, and is written in a twelfth century Estrangelo.

[1] For the artistic side compare Buchthal-Kurz (loc. cit.) and Gregory (loc. cit.).

[2] As far as my knowledge goes, all these lectionaries are arranged on the same pattern. I claim hardly any knowledge, however, in this field.

[3] Cf. Buchthal-Kurz, loc. cit.

Oxford

Syr. a. 1. A volume of fragments. Fol. 1 is a large-sized parchment leaf (2 cols.), written with elaborately coloured Estrangelo letters of the tenth-twelfth century. The leaf contains Matt. xii. 35-49, but is severely damaged. The parallel chapters in the other synoptic Gospels are noted at the bottom of the page.

Fol. 2 is similar, though less elaborate. It contains Matt. xxiii. 18-34; fol. 4 contains Luke v. 31-vi. 9 and fol. 5 contains John viii. 43-ix. 15. All these fragments show the Harklean recension. On account of their fragmentary nature it is impossible to tell whether they formed part of a lectionary or a Gospel volume.[1]

Fol. 6-13 contain John xv. 16-xix. 35. This fragment is apparently part of a Gospel volume in the Peshitta recension. It is written on parchment in an early Estrangelo hand (eighth century). The leaves are of medium size (2 cols.) and slightly damaged. The lessons are marked in the margin.

Auct. E. 4. 22. Two leaves (2 cols.) of a Gospel lectionary in the Peshitta recension, bound together with a Greek manuscript. The fragment is written on parchment in a very early Estrangelo and has been *partly vocalised by the scribe himself*. The portions contained are ܒܫܒ ܚܕܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ and ܒܫܒ ܚܕܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ but the leaves are rather damaged. The most interesting fact about this fragment is the use of the diacritical points equivalent to *Zelāmā Pešīqā*, as shown by the following examples:
ܠܐܟܢܝܬܐ (Luke xii. 15), ܚܝܐ (16), ܒܫܝܡ ، ܐܝܟ (19), ܡܝܐ (23), ܐܙܝܠ (24), ܒܓܢܒ، ܠܡܙܒ (xiv. 1), ‘ܐܝܟ ܚܕܝܩ (2), ܠܫܡܝܐ ܠܐܙܝܕܐ (Matt. xi. 23), etc.[2]

[1] Although the fragments are very similar to each other, they do not necessarily stem from one manuscript.

[2] Cf., on this problem the remarks by J. B. Segal, *The diacritical point and the accents in Syriac* (1953), p. 27. Another interesting point to mention is the vocalisation ܠܐܢܫܐ (Luke xiv. 3). Luke xii. 26 has the variant ܐܦܠ ܫܒ ܪܚܘܩ

Cambridge

1293. A fragment of a Gospel lectionary in the Peshitta recension, containing 124 folios of fairly large size. The volume is written in an inelegant Estrangelo and was finished in 1875 Sel. = 1564 C.E. The manuscript is now partly mutilated and soiled.

1295. A Gospel lectionary in the Peshitta recension for Sundays and Festivals according to the use of the Church of Mossul. The volume contains 112 folios (2 cols.) of fairly large size, and is written in a Nestorian hand. It was finished in 1977 Sel. = 1666 C.E. The scribe is *Oša'nā* of *Ḥanērē* in *Arqē*.

F. Bible Commentaries

Manchester

10. See D above.

35. The commentary of *Dionysius bar Ṣalibi* on the Revelation of John and the Epistles.[1] The volume contains 222 folios of medium size and was written in a neat Jacobite hand in 1904.

37. The commentary of *Dionysius bar Ṣalibi* on the Old Testament,[2] containing 484 folios (2 cols.) of fairly large size. The volume was written in a Jacobite hand by *Eliya Daulabāni* of *Mardin* in 1911.[3] The spiritual and the pragmatic commentaries are copied successively.[4] The manuscript from which this volume has been copied was defective in some places, and accordingly blanks have been left (e.g. fols. 33b-38a).

[1] See the edition by J. Sedlaček in *Scriptores Syri*, ii, tome 101, Paris 1909.

[2] There exist, consequently, three complete manuscripts of this commentary in European libraries: Paris 66—the only one known to Baumstark—, Ming. 152 (Selly Oak) and this volume.

[3] Presumably for Mingana himself (cf. above p. 440, n.3). In any case it must have formed part of his collection, as can be inferred from the entry Cod. Syr. 153 on the flyleaf. At one time Mingana apparently contemplated the edition of this manuscript and had a rotograph of Ming. 152 made so as to enable him to use that manuscript in Manchester. The present writer is now working on this commentary in connection with his studies on Syriac Old Testament texts and commentaries.

[4] Not in parallel columns as in Ming. 152.

78. A rotograph of the Selly Oak manuscript Ming. 152: *Bar Ṣalibi's* commentary on the Old Testament.

82. A rotograph of the Selly Oak manuscript Ming. 470: *Bar Hebraeus'* commentary on the Old Testament.

London

Or. 9351. The commentary of *Bar Hebraeus* on the Old and New Testaments, containing 290 folios of large size. The volume is written in a modern Jacobite hand, and was finished on the fourth Shebhaṭ 1881. The scribe is *'Abd al- 'Aziz bar Gūrgīs*, originally from Mossul.

Or. 9352. The same. The volume contains 414 folios of large size and is written in a modern Nestorian hand. It was finished on the 20th Ilul 1893, in the days of Mar Eliya xii. The scribe is *'Isa bar Esha 'ya* from *Al-Ḳosh*.

Or. 9356. The commentary of *Isho 'dad* of *Merw* on the New Testament, containing 341 folios of large size. The volume is written in a modern Nestorian hand, fully vocalised, and was finished on the 2nd Nisan 2190 Sel. = 1879 C.E., in the days of the Pope Leo xiii (!) in *Arādān*. The scribe is *Eliya bar Menāḥā* from *Al-Ḳosh*. The text is identical with that published by Margaret Dunlop Gibson in *Horae Semiticae* v-vii, x-xi (Cambridge 1911-16).

THE REYNOLDS COPY OF JOHNSON'S *DICTIONARY*

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JOHNSON'S *Dictionary* was published in April 1755. In April 1954, not one of the three surviving copies which he himself corrected has yet been adequately described. The fragmentary mixed copy of the first and third editions, in the British Museum, is still improperly catalogued as of the third edition only; Johnsonians seem almost to have ignored it. The corrected sheets of the first edition, in the library of the American collector, Colonel Richard Gimbel, make up a fragment larger and more important than that in the Museum, but even less familiar to scholars; the sheets have briefly emerged to public view only once in the last century, and their earlier history is virtually unknown. In the John Rylands Library, finally, there is preserved Johnson's personal copy of the fourth edition, which contains the last of his corrections; the common knowledge of its existence has prompted no thorough examination of its history or contents. Whatever the reasons for such persistent neglect, it should hardly be allowed to continue past the two hundredth anniversary of the *Dictionary*, and we are therefore attempting, elsewhere, a general though necessarily tentative discussion of all three corrected copies and a more detailed study of the copy in the British Museum. The present essay is devoted to Johnson's copy of the fourth edition, tracing its history and reproducing its annotations. At Yale University in 1955, the projected exhibition of Colonel Gimbel's first-edition copy will provide, we hope, definitive answers to the remaining questions, which at best we now can only raise.[1]

[1] This article is one of a series which have been made possible largely by grants from the Rockefeller and Guggenheim foundations and by the generous

I

In 1785, a generation of repressed chitchat at last found safe release, and Johnson dead was a livelier topic than Johnson living had ever been. It was the fashion to quote him on all occasions; the newspapers were full of him; and biographers and collectors of anecdotes made capital of the general interest. Not only the scribblers saw their opportunity in the death of the great man. "The respectable body of booksellers" was fortunate to have on hand the recently printed fifth edition of the work that had proved his greatness, the work whose copyright was worth a thousand pounds.[1] Late into the autumn of 1785, they happily continued to advertise it:

> This day is published, in two volumes folio, price 4*l.* 10*s.* bound, the fifth edition of Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. . . .[2]

That price had been unchanged for thirty years, and the octavo abridgment, at 10*s.*, was even more profitable;[3] but the high price of the folio, the expiration of the copyright, and the death of Johnson had created a new situation. The proprietors had misjudged it. Their complacency invited disaster, and it must have been small comfort to learn, from the hurried notice which appeared in the papers on 11 October, that the first disturber of their peace had been equally unwary.

> Mr. Harrison, publisher of the *British Classics* and other esteemed periodical works, most respectfully informs the public that he has for a long time past been contriving such an edition of Dr. Johnson's noble and stupendous British lexicon, as may at once do honour to the learned author's memory and be easily purchased by every person not already possessed of that invaluable performance. The particulars of Mr. Harrison's plan he will in a few days submit to the world, and he now troubles the public with this preparatory address merely because he has been informed that there is a design on foot to anticipate his intentions. For

support of the University of Chicago. We particularly wish to thank Professor Edward Robertson, Librarian of the John Rylands Library in Manchester, and Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts there, for their help and hospitality.

[1] Cf. the discussion of the early editions in our book *Dr. Johnson's Dictionary* (Chicago, 1955).

[2] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 5 October 1785. We have modernized spelling, punctuation and typography in our quotations from eighteenth-century newspapers.

[3] The advertisement just cited gives the price of the octavo as 10*s.* Between 1756 and 1786, it appeared in eight editions of 5,000 copies each.

the present, Mr. Harrison need only add that he every day expects from Mr. Caslon's inimitable foundry the beautiful types which that gentleman has for a considerable time past been engaged in preparing purposely for the work, and that, the instant they are delivered at Mr. Harrison's printing-office, the publication will proceed regularly every week till completed. [1]

The enterprising bookseller whose manoeuvres had forced Harrison to launch his campaign so prematurely was a neighbour to him and to the proprietors in Paternoster Row, John Fielding. He had taken his rivals by surprise. On 12 October, when the proprietors were still offering their fifth edition at its original price, and when Harrison, complaining of "illiberal animadversions" in the morning papers, was still not ready to give details of his public-spirited undertaking, Fielding could say that his first number would actually appear within three days.[2] The *Dictionary* as he would produce it, he said, would be "printed verbatim from the folio edition" and "embellished with the head of the author, engraved by Bartolozzi, from the most approved likeness, and carefully printed on the best French paper"; the whole would be "completed in forty-eight numbers" at 1*s.* each, "making two elegant volumes in quarto".

. . . The edition which is now proposed to be submitted to the public, has every convenience and excellence of the original work. It will be equally full and comprehensive, not a single syllable being omitted; its casual errors will be corrected, and all the typographical imperfections totally removed; and what may operate also as no trifling consideration, it will cost no more than two pounds eight shillings, which is two guineas less than the price for which the folio edition is now sold. It will be published in weekly numbers, so that all the advantage will be open to the less learned purchaser, which results from an easy gradation of study, and to the less opulent one from a slow and accommodating progression of payment. It will be more accurate than the folio edition, less bulky, and consequently more useful, though not much exceeding half the price.

One would like to have seen the untutored purchaser solemnly doing the *Dictionary* in forty-eight easy lessons, but Fielding's arithmetic touched the proprietors on a tender spot. To safeguard their investments, something had to be done, and done quickly. On 14 October, hastily choosing the least of evils, they made the preliminary announcement of a new edition of their own,

[1] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 11 October 1785.
[2] *Chronicle and Advertiser*, 12 October.

in two volumes quarto, printed from the edition in folio corrected by the author. It will be published in weekly numbers, on terms very advantageous for the purchasers, the particulars of which will be communicated to the public in a few days.[1]

Though Fielding's quarto was thus matched at least in prospect, Harrison had still to be reckoned with. The next day he announced his full plan, with a long list of rash claims and promises.[2] Like Fielding, he had the advantage of the proprietors in time, for he promised the first of his hundred 6*d*. numbers on 22 October ; and by publishing in one large volume folio, he avoided the inconvenience of separate volumes and enhanced the value of his " most magnificent portrait of Dr. Johnson, engraved by Heath ". To the further attractions of new type and fine, uniform paper, Harrison added " biographical and critical memoirs ", in which, he said, since he had been " some time . . . collecting original materials ", he would be able to " include a complete account of the learned author's life and writings " and a review of other works concerning him. A smugly impertinent quotation from the learned author concluded the advertisement :

These advantages are unquestionably very material ; and, as Mr. Harrison flatters himself the most strict examiners will not find them exaggerated, he delivers his plan to the world—" with the spirit of a man that hath endeavoured well ".

Attacked from two sides, the proprietors' position was seriously threatened ; but they had prestige, experience, capital, and—in Thomas Longman—a capable and determined leader. Though their full strategy of retaliation was developed only gradually, within two days they had found a first ally in Sir Joshua Reynolds :

We are authorized to inform the public that Sir Joshua Reynolds, executor to Dr. Johnson, has furnished the proprietors with a copy of the last edition of his *Dictionary*, in which are many additions and corrections in his own handwriting. From this copy the proprietors intend to print an elegant and correct edition, in two volumes in quarto, and to publish it soon in weekly numbers.[3]

It is Sir Joshua's copy which is in the Rylands Library, but we need not anticipate its description for evidence that the

[1] *Chronicle and Advertiser*, 14 October. [2] Ibid. 15 October.
[3] Ibid. 17 October.

proprietors' intent was carried out; a letter from Reynolds to Andrew Strahan, dated 23 October 1785, discusses the forthcoming edition and also offers the proprietors the use of a copy of the *Dictionary*, annotated by Dyer, which was then in Burke's possession and which is now in the British Museum.[1] Presumably, it may be said in passing, the proprietors declined this further offer; for there is no evidence that Dyer's notes were incorporated in their sixth edition or, indeed, that the other copies which Johnson himself had corrected were drawn upon.

However this might be, Sir Joshua had given the proprietors a powerful argument, to which it was difficult for Fielding and Harrison to reply. They did little more than attack one another for the few days until the proprietors showed their hands. Harrison simply repeated his advertisement of 15 October, and Fielding did his best to devise an answer.[2] Since he had long planned his edition, he said, and had not been driven to hasty action, he would produce the *Dictionary* promptly and well, from the best materials, in the most convenient size, and with the least delay. It was the great Bartolozzi who had engraved the head for the first number, and the work would be completed by a life of Johnson, based on Fielding's collection of "many original papers" respecting him and written by "a gentleman of the first literary abilities". Here Fielding made a serious tactical error. He would have done better to expose Harrison's biographic claim, which, like his own dull imitation of it, had very soon to be abandoned.

By 22 October, the proprietors had gathered their wits and strength and were ready with detailed proposals.[3] The eighty-four 6*d*. numbers of their two volumes in quarto, adorned with a head engraved from a Reynolds portrait, would begin to appear on 19 November and would contain three and four sheets alternately. With these attractive terms, the proprietors had beaten both Fielding's price and Harrison's; they promised

[1] Frederick Whiley Hilles, editor, *Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 140.

[2] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 18, 19, 20, 22 October 1785.

[3] *General Evening Post*, 22-5, 25-7 October, 3-5 November 1785; *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 24 October.

quicker completion of publication than Harrison had done ; and they offered both the engraving from a Reynolds portrait and the text from the Reynolds copy of the *Dictionary*. Their self-righteousness was in direct proportion to the drastic cut which their price, too, had suffered.

The arbitrary state of the English language had long been a subject of regret among the learned in this country, who, though they cultivated useful and polite learning beyond the nations on the Continent, had the mortification to behold themselves infinitely surpassed in philological improvement by the academicians of Italy and France. Applications were made without success to different sovereigns, for such a patronage as might enable a society of literary men to compile a dictionary for the use of those who, either in composition or speech, might aspire to precision and elegance. Similar overtures were made to several of the nobility ; and Dean Swift is said to have laid a plan of the same kind before the Earl of Oxford, which, however, does not appear to have been regarded. For, as Dr. Johnson observes, " The English language was still suffered to spread, under the direction of chance, into wild exuberance, resigned to the tyranny of time and fashion, and exposed to the corruptions of ignorance and the caprices of innovation ". But what could not be accomplished by royal munificence, or under the auspices of the nobility, was reserved for certain booksellers, who had the peculiar felicity of enabling Dr. Johnson to perform a work, not less advantageous to the interests of literature than astonishing when considered as the laborious production of one man.

To render this inestimable work, so necessary in the present age of refinement, more accessible to all ranks of men, it is proposed to publish a correct, elegant, and cheap edition, printed from a copy in which there are many additions and corrections, written by the author's own hand, and bequeathed by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who has, with a liberality which distinguishes his character, indulged the proprietors with the use of it, that the public may not be deprived of the last improvements of so consummate a lexicographer as Dr. Johnson.

Something must be forgiven men who had had to lower their sights from £4 10*s.* to two guineas, and who were now underselling their own fifth edition with a sixth, which they had to describe as better and cheaper ; but the eloquence of Longman, as spokesman for the proprietors and the bourgeois revolution, was partly humbug. Fielding supplies the right corrective. Although he had encountered more competition than he had slyly bargained for, he made some efforts to keep up the uneven struggle ; and in an advertisement of 29 November, in which he announced the publication of his sixth number, he addressed some very sharp questions to " the Junto, who modestly style

themselves ' a respectable body of booksellers ' ".[1] The second and third of his queries were unanswerable :

2. Is not the lease or term expired which gave them an exclusive right of printing Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* ; and is not Mr. Fielding as well entitled to publish an edition of it as any man, or any set of men existing ?

3. Would they ever have sold Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* for less than four pounds ten shillings, had not Fielding published an edition worth two of theirs, for two pounds eight shillings ? Is not Mr. Fielding therefore entitled to the thanks and encouragement of the public ?

Undoubtedly Mr. Fielding did deserve the public gratitude, but the rarity of his edition (we have seen no copy) suggests that he did not get his deserts, whereas the Strahan ledgers indicate that the proprietors' sixth edition was of at least 3,000 copies.[2] The proprietors also received a good deal of praise, or self-praise, in the newspapers.

Nothing can be more handsome than the conduct of the respectable body of booksellers who have the copyright of the *Dictionary* of Dr. Johnson. In this day of piracy, when every miserable adventurer finds expedients in the chicanery of the law to plunder his neighbours, they have liberally stood forward, and at an expense of many hundred pounds have checked the imposition on the public of hasty catch-penny editions of a work which, for the interests of literature, should be particularly correct. The public must be satisfied to see that not only the fair trader opposes the smuggler, but that pirate is armed against pirate, and that the spirit of peculation will be destroyed by its own avidity.[3]

Nothing could be *less* handsome than this pretence of public spirit, except the false claims which were anonymously made for the extent of Johnson's corrections in the Reynolds copy.

It is a public tribute due to the generosity of Sir Joshua Reynolds, that as soon as he was made acquainted with the necessity of a republication of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary*, he gave the free use of that which the Doctor had bequeathed to him. If we may judge by comparing what part of it has already appeared with the former copies, there seems to have been a regular revision by the learned author before his death ; and it is an undoubted fact that he took all opportunities of late years to embellish and improve it, and constantly kept it open in his study for that purpose. . . .[4]

[1] *General Evening Post*, 29 November—1 December 1785.

[2] Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh of Spottiswoode Ballantyne & Co. kindly allowed us access to these ledgers. We refer to Ledger F, p. 96^{v}, of the microfilm deposited by William Todd in the Bodleian Library. To give scepticism its due, we might add that we have neither sought nor found conclusive proof that Fielding actually finished the publication of his edition, though he certainly began it.

[3] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 26 October 1785.

[4] Ibid. 24 December.

The anonymity of this statement must be emphasized, so that it will not be attributed to Longman without more evidence. It was, as Harrison later pointed out, something more than simple truth ; and if " chicanery of the law ", in a context of publishing rivalry, may best be translated " Acts of Parliament ", the most accurate substitute for " regular revision " would be " light and casual annotation ".

Unfortunately, Harrison, who henceforth bore the main burden of conflict with the proprietors, was not himself irremoveably attached to honest fact. Replying to the exploitation of the Reynolds copy, he made his own bold divagation from veracity. On 1 November, in advertising the actual publication of his first number, he modestly asserted that his would be not only " the best and most compact edition ever attempted ", but that it would actually contain " all the different editions together ", since he intended to print " all the alterations, corrections, and additions of the learned author, from the first to the last edition, including those bequeathed to Sir Joshua Reynolds ".[1] Just how this was to be done might have taken some explaining, for high-sounding phrases (" Printed Verbatim from the Original Edition ") could not conceal the essential defect of Harrison's plan : he was reprinting the *first* edition, as Longman effectively proclaimed, and not the revised fourth ; and he could not and did not produce the monstrosity of a variorum.

Early in November, however, not even Longman could have felt quite sure of winning and holding public favour. Harrison was making the most of the external advantages which his edition did possess. From 3 to 21 November, he announced, he would exhibit in his shop the " fine original painting " by Opie, " for which the Doctor sat to that admirable artist in the spring which preceded his decease ".[2] After the 21st, it would " be immediately returned to Mr. Heath ", so that he might " complete in time the magnificent engraving " which would be delivered gratis to Harrison's subscribers. Undoubtedly, the size of the folio portrait would make it attractive to collectors ; and there was some reason, also, for Harrison's emphasis on the

[1] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 1 November.
[2] Ibid. 1, 16 November.

advantage of having the *Dictionary* in a single folio rather than two quartos.

On 24 November, therefore, Longman committed the proprietors to a *seventh* edition, to be published, beginning 10 December, on the same terms as the quarto edition, but in folio.[1] The first of the stated conditions made perfectly clear the intent to answer Harrison :

I. For the accommodation of those who wish to have this valuable work comprised in one volume, an edition will be elegantly printed, on fine paper, in one large volume in folio, from a copy bequeathed by the author to Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of his executors, containing numerous additions, corrections, and improvements.

Three authorized editions were now available for public choice : the fifth, in the original format of two folio volumes, which had become a luxury product ; the sixth, in two volumes quarto, at less than half the price of the fifth ; and the seventh, equally cheap, but in a single folio. Though the continued sale of the fifth edition made the textual pretensions of the sixth and seventh a little ridiculous, Longman had made for the proprietors a skilful recovery from their initial disadvantages. He even lowered the price of the octavo from 10s. in October to 8s. in December.[2]

By such heroic measures, the battle of the five editions was decided. Fielding's incisive queries might still cause some pain, but their phrasing was a tacit admission of defeat ; and Harrison was obviously whistling to keep up his spirits :

The superiority of Mr. Harrison's edition, in elegance, convenience, and accuracy, being not only decidedly pronounced by the literati, but even honestly acknowledged by the more liberal of his opponents, renders it quite unnecessary to insist on that evident pre-eminence which is now so universally established.[3]

Harrison's only real pre-eminence was in a slanging match. To the last he maintained " the superiority of his edition of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* over every other yet tendered to the public ".[4]

[1] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 26 November ; *General Evening Post*, 24-6 November.

[2] *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 24 December.

[3] Ibid. 30 November.

[4] " Editor's Preface " in Harrison's edition. Again we modernize mechanical details.

It comprehends the genuine original edition, printed verbatim, without the hosts of typographical inaccuracies multiplied in subsequent impressions, and retains some hundred elucidations injudiciously struck out from all other editions; while it furnishes, in a Supplement of barely three pages, the boasted additional words, not only in the copy bequeathed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose name has been so shamefully prostituted on the occasion, but in all the other editions taken together.[1]

The fourth edition, Harrison went on in his "Editor's Preface",

whether too hastily altered by Dr. Johnson himself, *or abridged without his knowledge by those who were interested in making such material reductions, as seems too probably the case,* is oftener rendered worse than better by the pretended *improvements*. . . .[2]

The evidence for these "illiberal animadversions" is a series of entries, originally transcribed from Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, to which Johnson's earliest critics had objected as superfluous and which Johnson himself may be seen deleting or abbreviating in the three corrected copies. Harrison had been beaten into absurdity, if not into silence. Perhaps, after all, it was good for the respectable to hear themselves denounced as "this self-created body of congregated dulness", "the farcical . . . *body of booksellers* . . ."[3]; but the publisher of the *British Classics* was hardly the man to call his neighbours to account, and his last bitter attacks on the proprietors testify only to the success of a fine Longmanian stroke. Longman had publicly exhibited the extent of Johnson's revision for the fourth edition by copying the added materials into the margins of Harrison's reprint of the first.[4] "This shabby artifice", as Harrison called it,[5] could not be countered with rhetoric.

II

If the Reynolds copy of Johnson's fourth edition had not survived, only painful collation would provide a check on the truth or falsity of the claims and counterclaims with which Harrison and the proprietors baited their hooks for subscribers; and if those claims could not be precisely judged, the relative authority of the fourth, sixth, and seventh editions of the

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Loc. cit. [3] Harrison's *Life*.
[4] Harrison, "Editor's Preface". [5] Loc. cit.

Dictionary would be in doubt. Fortunately, that is not the case. Detailed examination of the Reynolds copy confirms the established opinion that the fourth edition is the best printed authority for Johnson's considered judgements of English words, with the exception of somewhat more than two hundred entries in which the sixth and seventh incorporate his last revisions. The bibliographers are vindicated at the expense of the booksellers.

Of Harrison's advertisements, the inaccuracy could almost be assumed, since Longman would certainly have kept close watch over the materials for his own editions; and it may be taken as proved when a check of the first fifty Johnsonian notes in the Reynolds copy shows that Harrison obtained none of them. To Longman's similar exaggerations, a non-Johnsonian inscription in the first Reynolds volume provides a modest contrast:

> This Book containing *some MS Corrections*[1] in the Author's Hand-writing was left by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, from whom it was inherited by his Niece the Marchioness of Thomond, who gave it to George John, Earl Spencer.

As we have suggested, however, other notes in the Reynolds copy make it immediately clear that at least Longman's claim to have used it for his sixth and seventh editions was perfectly justified. Johnson had recommended, for example, that the entry *stiptick* be shifted from *sti-* to *sty-*; at the proper place for the latter spelling, another hand has written, "Bring the art. Stiptic, here".[2] Again, one or two of the quotations which Johnson added in the Reynolds copy were hastily jotted down in abbreviated form, apparently from memory; in the sixth and seventh editions, these same abbreviated notes are faithfully reproduced.[3] The process of their reproduction is not quite so clear. Since some of Johnson's more minute or obscure changes were overlooked or neglected,[4] since the Reynolds copy is very clean, and since the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions occasionally agree in obvious errors which do not appear in the fourth,[5] it is

[1] Our italics. In the remainder of this article, quotations are *not* modernized.

[2] Cf. Item 232 below.

[3] Cf. Items 98 and 120 below.

[4] Cf. Items 83, 104, 105, 156, 161, 162, 163, 165, etc.

[5] E.g. in paragraph 24 of the preface, the fourth edition reads: "a perpetual repetition by one general acknowledgment." The fifth, sixth, and seventh editions read: "a *general* repetition . . ." (italics ours).

possible that Johnson's notes were first transcribed from the Reynolds copy into a copy of edition five which was then used by the printer.[1] Further speculation leads only to further complications, which are not resolved by the Strahans' usually helpful ledgers. Perhaps so large a job as the hasty printing of the sixth and seventh editions had to be parcelled out to more printers than one, so that the Strahan ledgers would necessarily be incomplete; but in any case, when the ledgers record the printing of six sheets of the folio, in an impression of 1,750 copies, they note also that money was saved by overrunning from the quarto, and when they record the printing of 66½ quarto sheets, in an impression of 3,500, they note a saving by overrunning from the folio.[2] Between the Reynolds copy, therefore, and at least some sheets of the seventh edition, both the fifth and sixth editions may intervene; between the Reynolds copy and at least some sheets of the sixth edition, both the fifth and seventh editions may intervene; and at each stage the activities of compositor and corrector must be allowed for.

Such problems might be of interest to the professional bibliographer, who alone is equipped to solve them, but even naive inspection of the Reynolds copy makes possible two more conclusions concerning its history: it has been bound or rebound since Johnson made his notes in it; and at least once, already before his death, it directly or indirectly provided copy for the printer. The first conclusion follows from the obvious lateness of the present binding and from the fact that sometimes a few letters have been clipped away from Johnson's marginal notes. The second conclusion follows, though less simply, from the heavy red underlining which defaces the entries from *unconcocted* through *uncover* and from *undismayed* through *uneasily*. Most of these entry-words themselves are underlined, with their grammatical classifications, etymologies, and definitions; and for each definition, the name of one authority is usually underlined as well. One tell-tale error is made in the

[1] Presumably a transcriber, turning the pages of the Reynolds copy in search of corrections, might overlook small changes more easily than a compositor would do.

[2] Ledger F, p. 96^{v}.

underlining. For the word *undone*, two senses are marked, with Clarendon as the authority for the first, but with no authority indicated for the second. Instead, the underliner carelessly skipped over the next entry-word, *undoubted*, and then marked the name of Glanville, whom Johnson had cited as authority for the latter term. Looking now to the octavo *Dictionary*, one discovers that the entries *unconcocted-uncover* and *undismayed-uneasily* were omitted by mistake from the first five editions (1756-73), and were supplied from the Reynolds copy in the sixth octavo edition of 1778, where Glanville is authority for the second sense of *undone* and where *undoubted* is omitted altogether. Perhaps Johnson's working copies of his *Dictionary* were not bound up in two heavy volumes but more conveniently disposed into smaller fascicles, such that the sheets of the Reynolds copy from 29L (*unconcocted*) to the end could be sent to the printing-house independently of the earlier sheets. Certainly it seems more than coincidental that Johnson's last correction is in the entry *umbo* and that, except for the red underlining, the sheets from 29 I onward show no marks whatever. Unless they were not available to Johnson while he was making his casual corrections here and there in the *Dictionary*, their complete freedom from annotation is rather surprising.

The distribution of Johnson's notes in the Reynolds copy and their use in the sixth and seventh editions require little further introductory comment. The notes are confined almost entirely to the word-list. There are none in the preface or history of the language, none to speak of in the grammar, a good many in the letter *A*, and at least one in every other letter through *U* (*V*). Nothing in the nature or occurrence of the notes affords the slightest evidence of systematic revision. Sequences of more than fifty pages are quite untouched, but some single openings, on the other hand, provide several changes each. Now and then, as in the entries for *run*, v.n., and *set*, v.a., Johnson apparently worked over all the definitions of an important word, but such exertion was sporadic. Often he contented himself with mere marks, ranging from *X*'s or short pen-strokes to fairly elaborate bracketings. There are some scores of these marks scattered through the *Dictionary*, increasing, by comparison with written

comments, as the work progresses; and though some of them seem to be the usual marks for transposition, deletion, and the like, their purpose is usually as obscure to us as it was to the makers of the sixth and seventh editions, who normally ignored them. No traces remain of inter-leaves or loose slips, to which the marks conceivably might have been related, and examination of the corrected copy in the British Museum provides no clue to their meaning.

The corrections, indeed, in the Reynolds copy seem quite independent of those in the Museum's corrected sheets, and whereas very few of the Museum corrections were ever printed, most of those in the Reynolds copy are made in the sixth and seventh editions. We have verified this statement by careful comparison of each of the Reynolds corrections with the corresponding entries in the sixth edition and by occasional comparison with the corresponding entries in the seventh edition; the printing and publishing history of the two editions, and the uniform results of our occasional comparisons with the seventh, should remove any doubts of the effectiveness of this procedure. In the following record, therefore, of Johnson's corrections in the Reynolds copy, we have ignored the seventh edition; but in the absence of explicit statement to the contrary, both the sixth edition and, with it, the seventh may be assumed to reproduce each correction. Our presentation, we hope, will be clear enough to be read without consulting the *Dictionary*, yet precise enough to enable any reader to correct his own copy of the fourth edition as Johnson corrected his. Though the nature of the material forbids complete uniformity, each of our numbered entries includes, of course, a reference to the word on which Johnson's note was made and an exact transcription of the note itself. Where it seemed necessary for clarity, we have given also the reading of the fourth edition, or the reading of the sixth, or both. Johnson's notes are placed within quotation marks, like the readings of the fourth and sixth editions; and, except for series of periods to show omissions, all punctuation within the quotation marks is his. Where his notorious hand is illegible to us, or where part of a note is deleted, our comment to that effect is placed within parentheses; and where part of a

note has been clipped by the binder, we restore the missing portion within square brackets. Unless we say otherwise, the sixth edition confirms our restorations. Fully deleted notes, or notes which there is good reason to suspect as non-Johnsonian, are recorded with appropriate comment. Though we have tried to make our list complete except for the mere marks, Johnson's unintelligible *X*'s, pen-strokes, and the like, we realize that some of his more minute corrections may have escaped even two careful examinations of every page.

1. *Above*, adv. The quotation from Dryden's *Aeneid* ("The Trojans *from above*", etc.) is marked for transfer from Sense 2 to Sense 1.

2. *Accent*, n.s. Senses 2, 3, and 4 are renumbered 3, 4, and 5, and a new second sense is added: "2 The sound given to the syllable pronounced".

3. *Accent*, vb. The accent-mark is shifted from the second to the first syllable, and a note is added to the etymology: "it was (both words deleted) Formerly elevated at the second syllable, now at the first."

4. *Accommodate*, v.a. On a line with Definition 1, Johnson adds: "it has *with* before the thing."

5. *Accomplishment*, n.s. The name of the author of the first quotation under Sense 1 is changed from "*Haywood*" to "*Hayward*".

6. *Acroamatical*, adj. In the etymology, "bear" is changed to "hear".

7. *Act*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "5. A state of reality; effort." Johnson changes "effort" to "effect".

8. *Adacted*, pple. The fourth edition reads: "Driven by force; a word little used." Johnson adds, rather awkwardly: "the verb *adact* is not used".

9. *Adagio*. Johnson adds "*at leisure*" to the etymology, which accordingly reads, in the sixth edition: "Italian, at leisure."

10-12. *Administer*, v.a. In the fourth edition, Sense 4 reads: "To administer the sacraments." Johnson adds: "to dispense them." Sense 5 reads: "To administer an oath; to propose or require an oath authoritatively." Johnson adds: "to tender an othe (deleted) oath." From the reference to the *Spectator* after the quotation illustrating Sense 7, he deletes "No 477".

13. *Administration*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. Collectively, those to whom the care of publick affairs is committed." Johnson adds: "as, the *administration* has been opposed in parliament".

14. *Affront*, n.s. Sense 3 with its quotations is marked for transfer to become Sense 1.

15. *After*, adv. In the quotation from Bacon under Sense 1, the word *after* is underlined to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not.

16. *Agen*. Johnson inserts "now" after "is" in the sentence beginning: "This word is only written in this manner".

17. *Aim*, v.a. The "*a*" of "*v.a.*" is deleted and "n" is added. Sense 3 with its quotation is marked for transfer to a separate, new entry: "*To* AIM *v a*".

18-19. *Air*, v.a. In the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1, the word "air" is underlined to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not. Sense 2 is changed to read: "To gratify by enjoying the open air, with the reciprocal pronoun."

20. *Algebra*, n.s. The initial words of the Trevoux-Chambers quotation, "This is", are deleted.

21. *Amaranth*, n.s. The paragraph "The flowers have no petals . . . roundish seeds" is deleted.

22. *Amomum*, n.s. The following words are deleted from the Trevoux-Chambers quotation: "differ about the ancient *amomum*; but the generality of them", "grows in clusters, and is about the thickness of a pea", "the composition of".

23. *Ananas*, n.s. The paragraph "It has a flower . . . kidney-shaped" is deleted.

24. *Anchovy*, n.s. The words "Scaliger describes . . . caught in nets" are deleted.

25. *Anneal*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To heat glass, that the colours laid on it may pierce through." For "pierce through", Johnson substitutes "be fixed".

26. *Apeak*. The fourth edition reads: "In a posture to pierce the ground." After "pierce", Johnson inserts a comma. He deletes "the ground" and adds, after the deletion: "formed (deleted) formed with a point." The sixth edition therefore reads: "In a posture to pierce; formed with a point."

27. *Apparitors* [*sic*], n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. The lowest officer of the ecclesiastical court." Johnson adds: "a summoner."

28. *Appear*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "3. To stand in the presence of another; generally used of standing before some superiour." Johnson adds: "(illegible deleted word) to offer himself to the judgement [of] a tribunal". The sixth edition reads: "3. To stand in the presence of another, generally used of standing before some superiour; to offer himself to the judgment of a tribunal."

29. *Approach*, v.n., and *Approach*, v.a. The quotation from Temple under Sense 3 of the neuter verb is marked for transfer to a newly introduced second sense of the active verb: "2 To come near to". Johnson also adds a fourth sense of the neuter verb: "4 To come near by natural affinity, or resemblance, as, the Cat [*ap*]*proaches to* the tiger".

30. *Around*, prep. The fourth edition reads: "About; encircling." Johnson adds: "so as to encompass."

31. *Art*, n.s. To illustrate Sense 5, Johnson adds a quotation: "More matter with less *art* Shakespeare".

32. *Artless*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Without fraud; as, an *artless* maid." Johnson changes "Without" to "Void of".

33. *Assert*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To affirm; to declare positive." Johnson changes "positive" to "positively".

34. *Assertion*, n.s. A second sense is added, with a line drawn to show that it must precede the quotation from Browne: "2 Position advanced."

35. *Assurance*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "7. Ground of confidence; security given." Johnson deletes "given", puts a semicolon after "security", and adds: "sufficient reason for trust, or belief."

36-37. *At.* Johnson inserts "immediate" after "in" in the tenth definition: "*At* sometimes signifies in consequence of." In the quotation under Definition 15, the fourth edition reads: "To make pleasure the vehicle of health, is a doctor", etc. The quotation is changed to read: "He who makes", etc.

38. *Attend*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To wait on; to accompany as an inferiour." Johnson adds: "or a servant."

39. *Attendant*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "Accompanying as subordinate." Johnson adds: "or consequential."

40. *Babe*, n.s. Johnson adds a third item, "*Bambino* Italian", to the etymology.

41-42. *Backward, Backwards*, adv. To the etymology, Johnson adds the phrase: "[co]ntrary to forwards." From Definition 7, "Out of the progressive state; reflex", he deletes all but the last word.

43. *Beneath*, prep. Johnson adds at the end of Definition 1: "opposed to *above*".

44. *Berattle*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "To rattle off; to make a noise at in contempt." Johnson changes "rattle off" to "fill with noise".

45. *Besought*. The etymology in the fourth edition reads: "*part. passive* of *beseech*", etc. Johnson inserts "preterite and" before "*part.*"

46. *Bespatter*, v.a. Johnson adds a second sense after the first quotation from Swift: "2 To asperse with reproach".

47. *Between*, prep. The fourth edition reads: "5. In separation, or distinction of one from the other." For "In separation, or" Johnson substitutes: "Noting difference, or".

48. *Bezoar*, n.s. Johnson deletes the following: "medicinal", "of the goat kind", "The peculiar manner of", "of this stone".

49. *Bibliographer*, n.s. The fourth edition defines: "a writer of books; a transcriber." For "a writer of books", Johnson substitutes: "A man skilled in literary history and in the knowledge of Books".

50. *Big*, adj. Johnson adds a new Sense 1, which the quotation from the *Spectator* is to illustrate: "[Ha]ving comparative bulk [gr]eater or less". The *original* Sense 1 is marked to become Sense 2, still illustrated by the quotation from Locke. In the sixth edition, which makes these changes, the new first definition reads: "1. Having comparative bulk, greater or less."

51. *Bigot*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "A man devoted to a certain party", etc. Johnson inserts "unreasonably" after "devoted".

52. *Bittacle*, n.s. Johnson adds but then deletes an etymological note, which the sixth edition naturally does not include: "Said to be corrupted from (one word illegible)".

53. *Blackberry*, n.s. In the definition, "The fruit of the blackberry bush", the last two words are replaced by "bramble".

54. *Blind*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "1. Without sight", etc. Johnson changes "Without" to "Deprived of".

55. *Box*, "a tree." Johnson deletes the following words from the Mortimer paragraph: "*Box*", "of it", "very", "the declivity of", "dry", "chalky".

56. *Brand*, n.s. To the etymology of the word in its second sense, Johnson adds: "*brando* Italian".

57. *Breech*, n.s. Johnson adds a fourth sense: "4 The hinder part of any thing".

58-59. *But*, conj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Except then; had it not been that", etc. Johnson changes "then" to "that" and adds "unless;" so that the sixth edition reads: "2. Except that; unless; had it not been that", etc. Under Sense 10, the first two quotations are marked for transfer to follow the quotation from Dryden under Sense 9.

60. *Butcherly*, adj. Johnson inserts "grossly and clumsily" before "barbarous".

61. *Call*, v.a., and *Call*, v.n. The fifth sense of the neuter verb, with its quotation from Dryden, is re-numbered "17" (perhaps a mistake for 18) and marked for transfer to the end of the list of senses of the *active* verb. The sixth sense under the neuter verb is re-numbered "5".

62. *Cane*, n.s. Johnson deletes the following words from the Chambers paragraph under Sense 2: "and the spongy . . . very juicy", "a number of", "There are likewise . . . as the *cane* rises", "though . . . fifteen", "When ripe, . . . steel plates."

63. *Cardinal's flower*, n.s. Johnson deletes from the Miller quotation: "The first sort . . . in deepness."

64. *Careless*, adj. "Without care; without solicitude" is changed to "Having no care; feeling no solicitude".

65. *Catch*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "4. To stop any thing falling." Johnson adds: "to intercept falling".

66. *Ceremoniousness*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "Fondness of ceremony", etc. Johnson substitutes "Addictedness to" for "Fondness of".

67. *Chain*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "3. To put on a chain." For "put on" Johnson substitutes "keep by".

68. *Characteristical* and *Characteristick*, adj. Johnson deletes the second entry-word and the bracket which links the two.

69. *Chill*, adj. Johnson adds: "5 Unaffectionate; cold of te[m]per."

70. *Commateriality*, n.s. Johnson marks the whole entry for deletion; but the sixth edition keeps it.

71. *Commissionate*. Johnson adds, after the definition: "not in use."

72. *Company*, n.s. Johnson inserts "subordinate" before "corporation" in Sense 7. The sixth edition therefore reads, in part: "a body corporate; a subordinate corporation."

73. *Compellable*, adj. Johnson adds: "perhaps it should [be] *compellible*".

74. *Compose*, v.a. The quotation from Addison under Sense 2 is marked for transfer to Sense 4.

75. *Comprehensibly*, adv. What seems to be "this shoul" (*sic*) is written after the definition; the words are blotted and hard to read and the sixth edition ignored them. In the left-hand margin, Johnson has written: "[Tillot]son seems to have used *com[prehensi]bly* for *comprehensively*". Perhaps Johnson intended that the entry should be deleted, but the sixth edition retained it, adding the remark about Tillotson at the end of the definition.

76. *Conclusion*, n.s. Johnson adds "Experiment" after Definition 4.

77. *Concoct*, v.a. Alongside the quotation from Bacon under Sense 3, Johnson wrote: "concocted and adusted", obviously referring to the quotation

from Milton which is printed *s.v. Adusted*. The sixth edition makes no change *s.v. Concocted*.

78. *Condoler*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One that compliments another upon his misfortunes." Johnson substitutes: "One that joins in lamentation for the misfortunes of another".

79. *Crisis*, n.s. Johnson adds to Definition 1 a new phrase: "the decisive moment when sentence is passed".

80. *Crow*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. A piece of iron used as a lever", etc. Johnson puts carets after "iron" and "lever" and adds the phrases "with a beak" and "to force open doo[rs]". The sixth edition therefore reads: "3. A piece of iron, with a beak, used as a lever to force open doors", etc.

81. *Cunning*, n.s. In the margin alongside Definition 2, Johnson wrote what might be taken as "right kind—*cunning*"; the second word is hard to decipher. The fourth edition reads: "2. Art; skill; knowledge." The sixth reads: "2. Art; skill; knowledge; right-hand cunning."

82. *Decipher*, v.a. Senses 2, 3, and 4 are renumbered 3, 4, and 2, respectively.

83. *Declaratory*, adj. In the margin by the quotation, Johnson wrote: "in law". The note produced no change in the sixth edition.

84. *Defluxion*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "A defluxion; a flowing down of humours." Johnson corrected the circularity by deleting "A defluxion".

85. *Dejectedly*, adv. The fourth edition reads: "In a dejected manner; afflictedly." Johnson replaced "afflictedly" with "sadly; heavily."

86. *Depth*, n.s. Johnson added after Definition 4: "height Sum dep. Win." That is, we say *height of summer* but *depth of winter*. The sixth edition ignores the comment.

87. *Derivation*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. A draining of water; a turning of its course; letting out." Johnson deletes "letting out".

88. *Die*, v.n. Beside and above Definition 14, Johnson wrote:

"Sprat
every Winter die".

The transcription of the first word as "Sprat" is a little doubtful. The sixth edition does not add the note.

89. *Dignify*, v.a. To Sense 2, Johnson adds a new phrase: "to improve by some adventitious excellence or honourable distinction".

90. *Disembodied*. The definition is changed from "Divested of their bodies" to "Divested of the body".

91. *Dissolution*, n.s. Johnson adds, to the right of Definition 9: "diss. of parl". The note is not used in the sixth edition.

92. *Distinct*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Different; being apart, not conjunct." After the semicolon, Johnson inserts "separate;".

93. *Dive*, v.n. After Definition 1, Johnson adds: "to sink natural, to dive voluntary". The sixth edition ignores the comment.

94. *Divide*, v.n. Johnson adds another note which was not used:

"To distinguish
[in]struct and reason how
Prior."

95. *Down*, adv. Immediately after the entry-word, Johnson adds: "Not up".

96. *Draw*, v.n. Below Item 13, Johnson adds: "compound of draw pull, and draw paint". The transcription of the first word as "compound" is rather uncertain. The note is not used in the sixth edition.

97. *Dubious*. The classification "*n.s.*" is not corrected; but in Definition 1, "Doubtful" is changed to "Doubting". The sixth edition makes this change, and also changes "*n.s.*" to "*adj.*"

98. *Eat*, v.a. By the Tillotson quotation under Sense 2, Johnson adds:

"eating cares
Lydian airs Milton".

The sixth edition reads:

"Eating cares
Lydian airs. *Milton.*"

99. *Effect*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. Purpose; intention; general intent." Johnson substitutes "meaning" for "intention".

100. *Erst*, adv. The quotation from "*Milton's Agonistes*" under Sense 5 is marked for transfer to Sense 3, before the quotation from Gay.

101. *Evilworker*, n.s. From the definition, "One who does ill", Johnson deletes "ill", which he replaces with "wickedness".

102. *European*, adj. Johnson deletes the whole entry.

103. *Exact*, adj. Johnson changes the first word of Definition 3 from "Accurate" to "Careful".

104. *Examine*, v.a. The reference to Pope is deleted after the quotation under Sense 4. It is *not* deleted in the sixth edition.

105. *Exceed*, v.a. The "I" of "I *Kings*" is deleted from the reference for the quotation under Sense 2. It is *not* deleted in the sixth edition.

106. *F*. In line 5 of the discussion of the letter itself, Johnson inserts "which" before "yet".

107. *Fanciful*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Directed by the imagination", etc. Johnson changes "Directed" to "Dictated".

108. *Fancy*, n.s. Johnson writes by the entry-word: "It should be Phansy N." Ignoring the "N.", the sixth edition adds the statement after the etymology.

109. *Felonous*, adj. Johnson deletes "felonious" from the definition.

110. *Firepan*, n.s. Someone, perhaps not Johnson, wrote in the margin: "This is confufuse[d] in the alphabet". The transcription "confufuse[d]" is uncertain, but the "confufusion" in the alphabet is obvious in all editions through the sixth: *fire, firearms, fireball, firebrush, firedrake, firenew, firepan, firer, fireside, firestick, firework, fire, fire, firebrand, firecross, firelock, fireman, firepan*, etc.

111. *Flyfish*, v.n. From the quotation, "next" and "other" are deleted, and the reference is shortened to a simple "*Walton*".

112-115. *Follow*, v.a. (*a*) By the first quotation under Sense 4, Johnson adds a phrase which the sixth edition ignores: "as a leader". The transcription of the last word is uncertain. (*b*) The fourth edition reads: "5. To go after." Johnson adds: "as a teacher." (*c*) The fourth edition reads: "7. To be consequential, as effects to causes." Johnson adds: "in argument"; and the

sixth edition reads : " To be consequential in argument, as effects to causes." (*d*) The fourth edition reads, in part : " 8. . . . to copy." Johnson adds : " as a pupil or (deletion, apparently of one word) of an opinion or party ". The sixth edition reads : " . . . to copy, as a pupil ; or to be of an opinion or party."

116-117. *For*, prep. By the quotation under Sense 10, there is written what seems to be :

" so
in Small ".

The transcription is uncertain, and the sixth edition makes no change. Under Sense 11, the reference for the quotation is shortened to a simple " *Shakespeare* ".

118. At the top of Column 2 on $9N_2$ verso, Johnson wrote : " dagger li (some illegible letters, apparently four of them) for his eye. Hud ". If the makers of the sixth edition could read this quotation, still they did not use it, perhaps because they did not know what word it should illustrate.

119. *Forehand*, adj. The fourth edition reads : " A thing done sooner than is regular." Johnson deletes " A thing ".

120. *Fruitfully*, adv. Johnson adds a quotation under Definition 2 : " Fruitfully abound. Dryden."

121. *Frustrum* (*sic*). The second *r* in the entry-word is deleted.

122. *Gaily*, adv. Johnson adds : " gaily is properer ". The fourth edition gives a cross-reference to *gayly*. The sixth edition makes no change.

123. *Gain*, v.a. In the quotation from Dryden under Sense 7, Johnson underlines " gains " to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not.

124. *Gelt*, n.s., and *Gelt*, pple. of *geld*. The entries are marked for a reversal in their order ; the participle is to precede the second noun.

125. *Ginglymoid*, adj. Johnson adds a translation of the etymon : " a hinge ".

126. *Ginglymus*, n.s. The fourth edition reads in part : " . . . into each other's cavity, of which the elbow is an instance." After " cavity," Johnson inserts : " in the manner of a hinge,".

127. *Glowworm*, n.s. In the definition, " insect " is deleted and " grub " added.

128. *Gross*, n.s. In the third line of the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1, " were past " is changed to " we past ".

129. *Hart*, n.s. Johnson deletes " of the large kind " from the definition.

130. *Head*, n.s. The fourth edition reads in part : " . . . the brain or the organ of sensation or thought." Johnson deletes the second " or " and inserts " and seat of ", so that the sixth edition reads : " . . . the brain or the organ of sensation and seat of thought."

131. *Hold*, v.a. By the quotation under Sense 4, Johnson writes : " What Arminians hold ". The sixth edition makes no change.

132. *How*, adv. From Definition 1, Johnson deletes " In what manner ".

133. *Jehovah*, n.s. Johnson deletes the entire entry.

134-135. *Jet*, n.s. In the initial quotation from Hill, Johnson changes the period after " clay " to a semicolon and deletes " very ", " very ", " of " (first occurrence in line 2), " It is ", and " colour ". By Sense 3, he adds " reach ". Presumably he meant to replace or at least to question his third definition :

"3. A yard. Obsolete.

What orchard unrobbed escapes?
Or pullet dare walk in their *jet*?"

The sixth edition makes no change in Definition 3.

136. *Jews-stone*, n.s. Johnson changed the period after "diameter" to a semicolon and deleted "An extraneous fossil, being", "to each end; generally", and "It is".

137. *Illegitimacy*, n.s. Johnson changed "bastardry" to "bastardy".

138. *Indirect*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Not tending otherwise than obliquely or consequentially to a point", etc. Johnson changed "point" to "purpose".

139. *Join*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To add one to another in continuity." Johnson changes "continuity" to "contiguity".

140. *Keen*, adj. After Definition 1, Johnson adds: "We say *keen* of an edge, and *sharp* either of edge or point".

141. *Liquefy*, v.n. In "To grow limpid", Johnson changes "limpid" to "liquid".

142. *Livre*, n.s. In "equal nearly to our shilling", Johnson changes "shilling" to "ten pence".

143. *Love*, v.a. To Definition 4, Johnson adds: "to delight in".

144. *Love*, n.s. Beside and above Definition 6, Johnson writes: "love of pleasure and the love of (one word illegible)". The sixth edition makes no change.

145. *Lubricitate*. The "*n*" of "*v.n.*" is changed to *a*.

146. *Lustre*, n.s. The quotation from Bolingbroke under Definition 4 is deleted.

147. *Luxe*, n.s. In the etymology, "*luxius*" is changed to "*luxus*".

148. *Mangle*, v.a. Beneath Column 2 on $16A_1$ verso, Johnson adds a quotation: "mangle mischief Don Seb." The uncertain transcription of the reference is supported by the sixth edition's "*Don Sebastian.*"

149. *Manna*, n.s. Deletions are made in the quotation from Hill: "honey" (line 7), "which concretes into what we call *manna*" (7), "by an experiment being made" (9), "afterwards" (11), "and dew" (12).

150. *Meet*, v.a. Sense 7 is deleted, and its quotation is marked for transfer to Sense 3 of *Meet*, v.n.

151. *Mistletoe*, n.s. In line 13 of the quotation from Miller, "open" is deleted and nothing added in its place. Presumably Johnson decided that "open" was wrong but did not bother to check the right reading. The sixth edition kept "open".

152. *Mushroom*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. An upstart; a wretch risen from the dunghill; a director of a company." Johnson deletes "a director of a company".

153. *Ness*. From Definition 2, Johnson deletes "as INVERNESS."

154. *Of*, prep. By the quotations under Sense 8, Johnson writes: "see Brightland"—a reference to the well-known grammar. The sixth edition makes no change.

155. *Ope*, v.a. To the etymology, Johnson adds: "Greek, ὀπὴ".

156. *Particularity*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. Distinct notice or enumeration." Johnson adds: "detail". The word is *not* added in the sixth edition.

157. *Pentapetalous*, adj. In the etymology, "*petala*, Lat." is deleted and "πέταλον" is substituted for it.

158. *Pericarpium*, n.s. To the etymology, Johnson adds: "περὶ and καρπὸς".

159. *Point*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "18. Particular; instance; example." Johnson deletes "example".

160. *Preamble*, n.s. The accent-mark is shifted from the first syllable to the second.

161-162. *Predicable*, n.s., and *Predicament*, n.s. The accent-marks are shifted from the second syllables to the first, but the sixth edition does not make the changes.

163. *Present*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "5. Unforgotten; not neglectful." Johnson changes "neglectful" to "neglected", but the sixth edition does not make the change.

164. *Pretend*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To make any appearance of having; to allege falsely." Johnson makes an elaborate correction which the sixth edition seems to interpret correctly, reading: "2. To simulate; to make false appearances or representations; to allege falsely."

165. *Princess*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. A sovereign lady of rank, next to that of a queen." Johnson deletes the comma after "rank" and inserts one after "lady", but the sixth edition keeps the obvious mispunctuation of the fourth.

166. *Prophet*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. One of the sacred writers empowered by God to foretell futurity." Johnson changes "foretell" to "display".

167. *Proponent*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One that makes a proposal." To this definition, Johnson adds: "or lays down a position".

168. *Prorogue*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "3. To interrupt the session of parliament to a distant time." Johnson changes "interrupt" to "withold" (*sic*).

169. *Puke*, n.s. Alongside Definition 2, there is written an illegible word of six letters, the third and fourth being "le". The note produced no change in the sixth edition.

170. *Pull*, v.a. To Definition 1, Johnson added: "opposed to *push*, which is to drive from one".

171. *Pulmonick*, adj. The accent-mark is shifted from the first to the second syllable.

172. *Puppet*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. A small image moved by men in a mock drama", etc. Johnson deleted "men" and added "wire".

173. *Pure*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "3. Unmingled; not altered by mixtures; mere." Johnson deleted "mere".

174. *Push*, v.n. Johnson added another definition: "To burst out with [vi]olence". It is numbered 4 in the sixth edition.

175. *Put*, v.n. Senses 1, 2, and 3 are marked for rearrangement as 1, 3, and 2, respectively.

176. *Put*, n.s. In the margin by the reference to "*Bramston*" under Sense 2, Johnson wrote: "Game at cards". The sixth edition takes this note as indicating a new third definition: "3. A game at cards."

177-179. On *Quadruped*, n.s., *Quadruped*, adj., and *Quadruple*, adj., the accent-marks are shifted from the second to the first syllables.

180. *Rack*, n.s. To Definition 7, Johnson added: "the grate on which bacon is laid". Without the help of the sixth edition, we could not have made out the word "bacon".

181. *Ravish*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To constuprate by force." Johnson adds: "to deflower by violence."

182. *Reach*, v.n. Sense 5, with its quotation, is marked for transfer to become Sense 13 under the *active* verb.

183. *Realty*, n.s. The quotations are marked for a reversal in their order; Milton is to precede Pearce.

184. *Rebel*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One who opposes lawful authority." Johnson adds: "by violence".

185. *Rebel*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "To rise in opposition against lawful authority." Johnson inserts "violent" before "opposition".

186. *Reconcile*, v.a. To the quotations under Sense 1, Johnson adds: "contending friends to reconcile Swift". What we transcribe "friends" appears as "minds" in the sixth edition.

187-188. *Remain*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "2. To continue; to endure; to be left." Johnson adds: "in a particular state". The Biblical quotation under Sense 2 is marked for transfer to become the last quotation under Sense 4.

189. *Resignation*, n.s. In the margin by the entry-word, Johnson adds:

"Resign v n
for thee to resign
(illegible reference)".

The sixth edition includes no neuter verb *resign*.

190. *Resin*, n.s. At the end of the definition, Johnson adds the reference: "*Quincy*".

191. *Return*, n.s. In the margin opposite Sense 11, Johnson writes: "Report account". The sixth edition reads: "12. Report; account."

192. *Rid*, v.a. By the entry-word, Johnson writes: "in the preterit perhaps *ridded* or *rid* in the passive participle *rid*."

193. *Rie*, n.s. By the entry-word, Johnson adds what seems to be "oriza". The sixth edition makes no use of the note.

194. *Rub*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To touch so as to have something of that which touches behind." Johnson substitutes "leave" for "have".

195. For insertion just before *Ruination*, Johnson adds: "Ruinate adj Sh." The sixth edition does not make the insertion.

196-200. *Run*, v.n. In Definition 8, Johnson changed "fly" to "flee". In Definition 35, "To pass progressively", he changed the adverb to "irregularly". In Definition 42, "To get by artifice or fraud", he changed "get" to "go". In Definition 49, "To hurry without consent", he changed "consent" to "deliberation". He bracketed Definitions 55-57, and wrote beside

the bracket two words or abbreviations which we cannot decipher. The sixth edition makes all the indicated changes except the last, whatever it was meant to be.

201. *Run*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "5. Way of management; uncontrolled course." Johnson deletes "of management" and adds "will". Thus he indicates the new definition: "Way; will; uncontrolled course."

202. *Sabbath*, n.s. In the fourth edition, the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1 begins: "Here ev'ry day was *sabbath*". The sixth edition missed Johnson's change of "Here" to "Her".

203. *Save*, v.n. To the definition, "To be cheap", Johnson added: "to require little cost". The sixth edition does not add the new phrase.

204. *Sciolist*, n.s. The accent-mark is shifted from the second to the first syllable.

205. *Scour*, v.a. Johnson adds an etymology of the word in its fifth sense: "Scorrere. Italian".

206. *Sequestrate*. Johnson replaced the "*n*" of "*v.n.*" with "a", but the sixth edition missed the change.

207-211. *Set*, v.a. In the quotation under Sense 3 ("*Set* at her eyes", etc.), Johnson changed "at" to "are". In the margin by the quotation from Waller under Sense 23, he wrote: "To set birds"; the transcription of the last word is doubtful, and the sixth edition ignored the remark. It also ignored the new definition marked for insertion between Senses 28 and 29: "To se ("se" is deleted) let; to give for hire". The sixth edition included, in its Definition 71, the notes which Johnson wrote above and beside the fourth edition's seventy-first sense: "To set up a trade"; "To set up a trader". To Item 72 of the fourth edition, Johnson added "notion" after "primitive", so that the sixth edition reads, in part: "any radical or primitive notion".

212. *Sherris*, n.s. Johnson deleted "sweet" from the definition.

213. *Shoot*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "9. To feel a quick glancing pain." Johnson changed "glancing" to "piercing", but the sixth edition ignored the change.

214. *Shrewdly*, adv. After the last line of the entry, Johnson wrote "4—", as if to add a new sense. The addition, if it was ever made, is no longer in the Reynolds copy, and the sixth edition did not make it.

215. *Sinistrous*, adj., and *Sinistrously*, adv. The accent-marks are shifted from the first to the second syllables. The sixth edition makes no change.

216. *Sit*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "11. To be settled, as an assembly", etc. Johnson changed "settled" to "convened".

217. *Sit*, v.a. Intending a transfer to the neuter verb, Johnson wrote after Definition 3: "this is rather neuter". In the sixth edition, the note is mechanically added to the definition, which remains, however, under *Sit*, v.a.

218. *Skinned*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "Having the nature of skin or leather; hard; callous." Johnson reduces the definition to "Having skin."

219. *Snow*, v.n. "To have snowfall" is replaced by "To fall in snow".

220. *Sort*, n.s. To Definition 8, "A pair; a set", Johnson adds: "a suit."

221. *Sot*, v.a. To the definition, "To stupify; to besot", Johnson adds: "to infatuate".

222. *Spare rib.* "Some part cut off from the rib" is deleted, but it remains in the sixth edition.

223. *Speculation*, n.s. In the margin to the right of the entry-word, Johnson first writes and then deletes: "no speculation in these eyes (one word, or one abbreviation, illegible)". Already in the fourth edition, this quotation had been used to illustrate Definition 6, and the sixth edition makes no change.

224. *Spring*, v.n. To the list of forms, Johnson adds: "part *sprung*".

225. *Spring*, v.a. In Item 7, "for" is twice written between the lines—once to indicate, in line 2, the reading "thence *spring* for the season", and again to indicate, in line 3, the reading "thence *spring* for a fountain".

226. *Stair*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "Steps by which we rise an ascent", etc. Johnson changes "an" to "in".

227. *Stalely*, adv. The fourth edition reads: "Of old; long time." Johnson inserts "of" before "long".

228. *Stamp*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. Any instrument by which a hollow impression is made." Johnson deletes "hollow" and adds what we transcribed "definite and lasting" but what the sixth edition prints as "distinct and lasting".

229. *Stank*, adj. Johnson adds the etymology: "(*stanco* Italian)".

230. *Stiff*, adj. To illustrate Definition 6, Johnson adds a quotation: "stiff formal stile of Gondibert". The sixth edition distorts this note, though it makes Johnson's spelling conform with his own recommendation: "*Stiff*, formal style. *Gondibert.*"

231. *Still*, adv. To the first definition, Johnson adds "yet", which the sixth edition ignores.

232. *Stiptick*, *Stiptical*, *Stypticity*. By the first two of these three entry-words, Johnson wrote: "remove to styptick". At this point, the sixth edition reads: "STI'PTIC. See STYPTIC." Just above *Stypticity*, a non-Johnsonian hand has written: "Bring the art. Stiptic, here." From the preceding entry, *Styptick*, the words "See STIPTICK" are deleted with ink of the same distinctive colour as that used in the non-Johnsonian note. The sixth edition carries out both sets of instructions.

233. *Strength*, n.s. Beside Definition 9, "Potency of liquors", there is written the one word "Noah", preceded by an illegible mark. The sixth edition makes no use of this note.

234. *Study*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "6. Apartment set off for literary employment." Johnson changes "set off for" to "appropriated to".

235-236. *Suppose*, v.a. From the fourth definition, "To require as previous to itself", Johnson deleted "to itself". He marked the quotation under Sense 6 for transfer to Sense 5.

237. *Sweep*, v.a. Johnson adds a comment on the forms: "pret. and pass part. *swept*".

238. *Sweet*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "5. Pleasing to the eye." Johnson replaces "Pleasing" with "Beautiful".

239. *Swim*, v.n. Alongside Definition 7, Johnson adds a quotation: "the (illegible word beginning with *D*) swims in delight. Swift". The quotation is not added in the sixth edition.

240. *Swimmer*, n.s. Alongside the reference "*Thomson*" under Sense 1, Johnson writes: "swimmer from the flood". The note is not used in the sixth edition.

241-242. *Teach*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To instruct; to inform." Johnson adds: "as a master; correlative to *learn*". The Milton quotations under Senses 1 and 2 are marked for interchange.

243. *Tearer*, n.s. To the definition, "He who rends or tears", Johnson adds: "one who blusters".

244. *Temper*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To compound; to form by mixture." Johnson adds: "To qualify as an ingred[i]ent."

245. *That*, pron. Alongside the entry-word, Johnson writes "plural"—presumably a reminder to give the plural form, which neither the fourth nor the sixth edition does give.

246. *Tilt*, v.a. Sense 2 is deleted.

247. *To*, prep. In the quotation under Sense 19, both "to" and "*to*" are underlined to indicate italics; but in the sixth edition as in the fourth, italics are used only for the second occurrence of the word.

248. *Trade*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "3. Having a trading wind." The definition is revised: "3. To have a trade wind."

249. *Trance*, n.s. "See TRANSE" is deleted.

250. *Treason*, n.s. In the fourth edition, the long quotation from Cowel reads, in part: "a servant kills his master, a wife her husband; secular or religious kills his prelate", etc. The last clause is revised by the insertion of "a Clerk" ("a Clerk secular or religious", etc.).

251. *Turbination*, n.s. "The art of spinning" becomes "The act of spinning".

252. *Value*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "8. To equal in value; to countervail." Johnson changes the definition to read: "8. To compare with respect to price or excellence".

253. *Vehemency*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. Ardour; mental violence; terrour." Johnson changes "terrour" to "fervour".

254. *Vein*, n.s. Johnson adds a quotation to illustrate Sense 9: "my usual Vein. Oldham".

255. *Umbo* (*Vmbo*), n.s. "The point . . . of a buckler" becomes "The pointed boss . . . of a buckler".

With the word *umbo*, as we have said, Johnson's corrections in the fourth edition come to an end; and though they touch every feature of the *Dictionary*, they do not amount to much. Longman would have been sadly embarrassed if an enterprising or sceptical customer had resorted to collation. It is notable, of course, that Johnson was still shortening his references and quotations, especially the technical quotations whose full reproduction Harrison had stupidly proclaimed as a great merit of his edition; and one or two of Johnson's notes usefully illustrate the semantic development of important words or show some

intrinsic distinction of thought or phrase. Thus the added definition of *bibliographer* is worth remembering, and the pious change of " foretell " to " display " in the definition of *prophet* ; directors of companies become respectable in the amusing entry *mushroom*, and a way is opened for independent thinking under *rebel*. Such entries, however, are quite exceptional. No doubt Johnsonians should long since have taken the trouble to identify the relatively few authoritative revisions in the sixth edition, but the chief conclusion which follows from their identification is that they are very slight. By 1785, it would appear, the advertising techniques of commercial lexicography were already highly developed.

There is only one aspect of our unheroic story of free enterprise which might seem a little puzzling. If Harrison's motives, and Fielding's, are sufficiently clear, and if Longman was acting under extreme provocation when he based on the Reynolds copy an advertising campaign which the extent of its correction did not justify, still one cannot help wondering why he did not so much as mention the other two corrected copies. Of the three, the Reynolds copy is the least extensively corrected. In the Museum fragment, Johnsonian corrections are confined to the first-edition sheets, 2N through $3U_1$ (the letter *B* as far as *Bystander*, with the last page of the letter *A*) ; yet these sheets alone contain a much larger and more significant body of manuscript notes than does the whole of the Reynolds copy. Since Colonel Gimbel's set of first-edition sheets is not limited to a single letter but includes most of the *Dictionary* from *A* to *Pumper*, it will certainly provide an even richer store of still unpublished material. A facsimile of the single page *Abolishable-Above*, published by Sotheby's when the sheets were sold in 1927, shows two attached quotation-slips and almost twenty corrections in the printed text ; and elsewhere in the set, according to Sotheby's catalogue, there are over 1,600 more quotation-slips, as well as numerous marginal notes. Beyond any doubt, the " consummate Lexicographer " had left behind him far more unprinted " improvements " than Longman ever suggested.

Conceivably, Longman kept silent because he feared the embarrassment of revealing that so many of Johnson's notes and

corrections, not only in the Reynolds copy, had been allowed to remain in manuscript for years. To the present day, no one can explain this suppression, which Harrison, if he had known of it, would unmercifully have exploited; and if anyone in 1785 knew the explanation, it would have been Thomas Longman and Andrew Strahan, successors of men who had been associated with the *Dictionary* from the beginning. Longman may have known, and he may have chosen discreetly to say nothing. There are, however, so many other possibilities that in the absence of strong and direct evidence to the contrary, the more just and likely guess is that Longman was not deliberately hiding the truth and that the other corrected copies were not accessible to him and his colleagues. Very possibly, those copies were already in private hands, and far from London. The first unequivocal record which we have been able to find of Colonel Gimbel's copy places it in Staffordshire in the mid-nineteenth century, when it is entered under the heading "Johnson, Samuel" in "a large folio 'Catalogue of the Library of Ralph Sneyd, Esq., at Keele Hall, 1862'":

> A dictionary of the English language; first ed. proof copy with the authors Ms. corrections A-Pum: 3 vols. fol.[1]

Similarly, our earliest clear fact about the Museum copy is that it was bought for the Museum in December, 1853, at the sale of the library of John Hugh Smyth Pigott, of Brockley Hall in Somerset. The general silence concerning both copies makes one more willing to guess that at Johnson's own sale they passed into collections from which Longman could not have retrieved them and from which, it must be added, he may have seen no reason to retrieve them; if Johnson made his notes in these two copies before he made his revision for the fourth edition, Longman may have considered that the fourth edition supplanted all earlier corrections, printed or not.

The causes, progress, and results of the booksellers' war of 1785 may therefore be taken as established in their general outlines; and the nature and extent of Johnson's corrections in

[1] The Sneyd muniments, which are now in the Rylands Library, were very kindly searched for us by Dr. Frank Taylor, whose report we quote.

the Reynolds copy, as well as the use which the proprietors made of them, have been determined. Oddly enough, the unsolved problems, those concerning the other corrected copies, lead backward to 1755 or earlier. In 1755 the proprietors began to publish the second edition of the *Dictionary*, like the sixth and seventh editions thirty years later, in weekly numbers and in the face of unusual competition. Perhaps the exhibition of the Sneyd-Gimbel copy will show whether or not this is mere coincidence.

SOME MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LIFE OF ST. BERNARD

By Fr. JOHN MORSON, O.C.R.
MOUNT SAINT BERNARD ABBEY, LEICESTERSHIRE

ST. Bernard died at Clairvaux on 20 August 1153. The eighth centenary has not failed to revive interest in his life and written works. It may be true that a man's best biography is found in his letters, especially in an ever-increasing collection such as we have of letters to and from St. Bernard. We are promised a critical edition of the works, in which the letters will find their place in due course.[1] As for the biography strictly so-called—even in the saint's life-time his companions realized their duty of handing to posterity an historical account of what they saw. Most of the work was done by Geoffrey of Auxerre, so-called apparently from his birth-place. This name Geoffrey is attributed to the following: a disciple of Abelard who entered Clairvaux, St. Bernard's secretary, his companion on the preaching of the second Crusade, the publisher of the first *Corpus Epistolarum*, the writer of the greater part of the Life in both its first and final stages, the witness to the miracles which accompanied the preaching of the Crusade, the preacher of a sermon on the tenth anniversary of St. Bernard's death,[2] abbot successively of Igny, Clairvaux, Fossa Nuova, and Hautecombe. There has been much discussion as to whether the name which appears in all these connections belongs to several men, but the conclusion most favoured today is that all the roles are acted by one and the same, Geoffrey of Auxerre.[3]

First came the work of recording roughly what he had seen himself and collecting reminiscences from his elders. The

[1] The editors are Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B. and Dr. C. H. Talbot. Father Bruno Scott James has published in an English translation a greater number of the letters than has been brought together hitherto: *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, Burns Oates, London, 1953. [2] Migne, P.L. 185, 573-88.

[3] Watkin Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, Manchester, 1935, pp. 376 ff.: Dom Jean Leclercq, "Les Ecrits de Geoffrey d'Auxerre", in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1952, pp. 274 ff.

result was the *Fragmenta*. More will be said of the one surviving manuscript. The writing of a biography, in the saint's life-time and without his knowledge, was entrusted to two intimate and long-standing friends of St. Bernard. William, formerly abbot of St. Thierry in the diocese of Rheims, by this time a Cistercian monk of Signy, wrote the first book, but died while his subject was still alive. Arnold, abbot of the black monastery of Bonneval, then wrote the second.[1] Both made a constant though critical use of Geoffrey's *Fragmenta*. After Arnold's death Geoffrey himself wrote the third, fourth, and fifth books. The third was composed for the first time, a description of the saint's manners and virtues. The fourth, a book of miracles, was drawn by the author largely from his own *Fragmenta*, though a considerable part of these was omitted from critical motives. The fifth, an account of the last days and death, had already been written and addressed to St. Bernard's friend Eskil, Danish archbishop of Lund. Mention will be made of two manuscripts which have the fifth book alone in its original form. Just as the fifth book is found without the rest, so are the four found without the fifth.[2] I have never heard that the first two books are found alone (except of course by the accident which has left a manuscript in a fragmentary condition), but the tendency to regard Geoffrey's following books as a separate work is found in the numbering. Scribes call them at one time books 1, 2, 3 : at another 3, 4, 5 : or even *primus vel tertius, secundus vel quartus, tertius vel quintus.*

The five books were published together with the approval of an assembly of bishops and abbots held in 1155.[3] This gave

[1] Horstius must have had some manuscript authority for calling the author "Bernard of Bonneval" throughout his edition of 1667. Dr. C. H. Talbot has pointed out to me a single indication that Arnold died a monk of Clairvaux in Bodleian MS. 197 fol. 180 : *Tractatus domini Ernaldi Abbatis Bonevallis apud Carnotum qui postea monacus fuit Clarevallis ubi obiit de operibus vi dierum.*

[2] E.g. in B.M. Add. MS. 15621.

[3] See influence of this assembly in Book IV, nn. 24, 25. References are always to the paragraph numbers of Mabillon and Migne. The biography may well have been meant as a canonization "dossier". See Dom J. Leclercq and authorities quoted in *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Strictioris Observantiae*, 1954, p. 285.

us the first complete text, known as recension A. Geoffrey's historical sense, developed already as we see from suppression of some incidents recorded in the *Fragmenta*, must have become still more refined in the following years. So he revised the whole, sometimes by addition or correction, most often by the entire suppression of some narrative. The passages suppressed are usually miracles or prophecies for which adequate testimony was not found. In a few places there appears a desire to curtail verbose panegyric.[1] I have myself had the impression that there was also the motive of sparing embarrassment to well-known persons or families.[2] This shorter text is recension B. The period of revision is likely to have been between 1165 and 1170, leisure years for Geoffrey between his abbatial responsibilities at Clairvaux and at Fossa Nuova. Manuscripts are almost universally consistent in giving us one recension or the other. The last three books appear in A either with the Prologue of the bishops and abbots, not found in Mabillon, or with no Prologue at all. In B they have a Prologue by Geoffrey, sometimes with a rubric stating his authorship: this is the Prologue printed by Mabillon. The square brackets, introduced by Horstius and taken over by Mabillon, indicate passages proper to A alone and help a student to recognize with little difficulty the recension in any manuscript.[3] There are interesting differences which cannot be recorded by the bracket system. I have transcribed some of these elsewhere.[4]

In 1886 George Hüffer, after two earlier manuscripts listed 102 of the Life, 48 of recension A, 52 of B.[5] E. Vacandard, in 1902, claimed to double this number. It is to be expected that a very long list might be made now.[6] This article is not such a

[1] See Book III, 31; V, 11. [2] So possibly Book IV, nn. 6, 11, 13, 18, 20.

[3] This Horstius-Mabillon text is reprinted in Migne, P.L. 185, 225-366.

[4] "Texts in a Bernardine Manuscript at Mount Saint Bernard Abbey" in *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Strictioris Observantiae*, 1954, pp. 214-21. I was then relying on three manuscripts only for my knowledge of B, but I find that the variants are constant.

[5] *Der Heilige Bernard von Clairvaux* (Münster, 1886), pp. 108 ff.

[6] E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard* (Paris, edn. of 1910), I, p. xxiv. See BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxv, no. 1 (September 1952), 184 and 188. Himmerod MSS. numbered by Dr. Schneider 32 and 54 (if the latter is in fact the *Vita Prima*).

list but is meant to interest those who, like the author himself, have a restricted ambit. Apart from mention of the earliest, which cannot be passed over, it is confined to some description of manuscripts which are, or recently have been, accessible to students in England. If the same kind of account were given in other countries a way might be prepared for critical editors. Seventeen manuscripts are described, fourteen now or recently in England. The unequal treatment given in the several sections is due not solely to the accidental circumstance that I have seen only eight of these fourteen for myself and have studied some of these at greater length than others. Some of the manuscripts, whether seen or known only through correspondence, are more specially interesting; and the latest of all, York Minster XVI, L. 18, is perhaps not the least worthy of description. On the whole, I think that I have been providentially guided to the most representative. It is hoped that readers who know of other manuscripts of the same Life in English-speaking countries will send news of them.[1]

The relation of the *Fragmenta Gaufridi* to the *Vita Prima* having been explained, it remains only to summarize what has been said by others about the surviving manuscript of the *Fragmenta*.[2] Several passages had been known in print,[3] but Hüffer and Vacandard regretted the loss of the *Codex Aureaevallensis* from which the passages had been drawn.[4] At the congress of the *Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes* held at Dijon in 1927, Dom Alexis Presse, then Cistercian abbot of Tamié in Savoy, made it known that the manuscript was in his monastic library.[5] The identity is clear enough from an old

[1] Several times help has been given by two who combine great scholarship with generosity in distributing its fruits, Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B. of Clervaux Abbey, Luxemburg, and Mr. Neil Ker of Oxford. Those libraries and persons who have sent manuscripts or given information are mentioned in the appropriate places.

[2] The Codex Aureaevallensis, *Dublin Review* (1930), pp. 130-40, by Watkin Williams: reprinted in *Monastic Studies* (Manchester University Press, 1938), pp. 166-75. Text presented by Fr. Robert Lechat, S.J. in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 50 (1932), fasc. 1, 2.

[3] E.g. Migne, P.L. 185, 523-30.

[4] *Der Heilige Bern.*, pp. 27-69; *Vie de S. Bern.*, I, p. xxii.

[5] *S. Bernard et son Temps*, Ass. Bourg., I, pp. 1-7.

inscription on fol. 71v, *Liber sancte Marie Aureevallis*, and from a declaration signed by the Abbé Clesse inside the cover. This priest had received the book from a monk of Orval (Aureavallis) in the period of the French Revolution. In 1841 he returned it to monks of the Order who, after exile, settled at Val-Sainte-Marie, moved in 1849 to Grace-Dieu and in 1909 to Tamié. There was a tradition that it contained the autograph of Geoffrey of Auxerre. But the corrections are those of a copyist, not a composer, and it is certain, from comparison with the known autograph of Geoffrey in manuscript Paris, B.N. lat. 7561, that the *Codex Aureaevallensis* comes from another hand.[1]

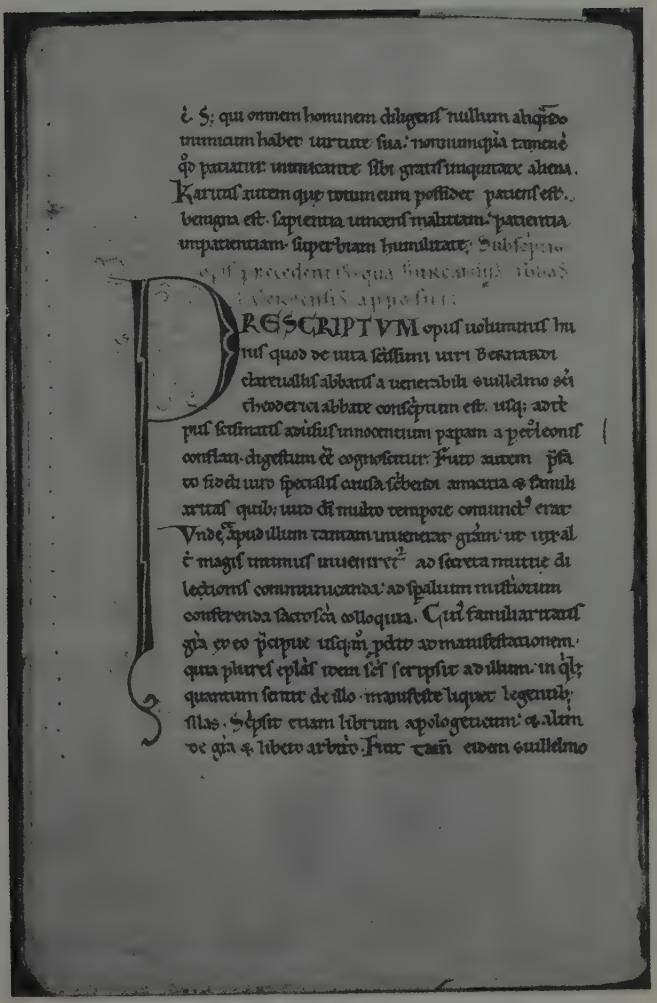
In the old leather binding there are seventy-one sheets of vellum, measuring only 6 by 4 inches. The part which concerns us is the first, fols. 1-39v, having a leaf missing between 26 and 27. Fols. 40 to 53 have the books known as the second and third of Miracles [2] and 66 to 71 a short life of St. Hubert. There were originally two manuscripts and the work of several scribes, but the *Fragmenta* are all from the same hand. The writing was probably done at Orval about 1180. The text of the *Fragmenta* has been admirably edited by Fr. Lechat (as already noted). However, when such a text is being edited from one manuscript alone, some of us would prefer not only original orthography but also original punctuation, a paragraph division corresponding to the original not " la plupart du temps " but invariably, leaves of the manuscript indicated, with other numbers required for modern convenience placed outside the text.

Paris, B. N. lat 7561, *fols.* 65-87. This is a composite codex measuring only 7½ by 5½ inches. The section which concerns us has wide margins, especially at the bottom.[3] We have here the earliest known manuscript concerning our subject, the account of the last days and death, afterwards made the fifth book of the Life, preceded by a letter to Eskil, archbishop of

[1] Dom J. Leclercq, *Études sur S. Bern. et le Texte de ses Écrits* (Rome, 1953), p. 82.

[2] Migne, P.L. 185, 385-416.

[3] Fol. 68 has been reproduced by Dom J. Leclercq in his *Études sur S. Bern.*, Illustration III. The author comments on the manuscript, pp. 81, 82.



By courtesy of Messrs. Davis and Orioli

A page (reduced in size) from MS. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. IV. 19.
See pp. 481-483.

By courtesy of Blackfriars Publications

Beginning of Life in MS. of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey (slightly larger than actual size). See pp. 485-488.

Lund, *Timor quem timebamus evenit nobis.* . . . The manuscript is the autograph of Geoffrey of Auxerre himself written in the last months of 1153, with the author's own marginal and interlinear corrections and additions which tell us much of the process of composition.[1] Not only is this one of the earliest specimens of Cistercian writing, but, since Geoffrey was St. Bernard's secretary, it gives us an idea of the form in which the saint's own compositions may have first appeared.

Düsseldorff, B. 26. This Cistercian manuscript, though rather later, is the other witness to Geoffrey's *Narratio de ultimis diebus* . . . as it stood before the official edition and approval of recension A. Fols. 1-65^{v} give us St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy and hymn in honour of the Irish saint, *Nobilis signis.*[2] On fol. 67 begins another script. The text, like that of Paris, is the letter to Eskil and the story of the last days and death, incomplete, reaching only as far as Book V, n. 21 : *reperit jam migrasse.*

Brussels, Bibl. Roy. IV. 19. This manuscript, the earliest to be considered of the *Vita Prima*, was known in the eighteenth century, came to light again in England a few months ago, and has now left our country for Belgium.[3] The 138 sheets of vellum, 10½ by 6½ inches, ruled with twenty-five lines to the page, contain the five books of the Life. The writing is in a fine twelfth century style. The leaves with their wide margins, uncut and free from any later annotations, are contained probably in the original binding of thick oak boards covered with pigskin. Eight initials are spread out and finely decorated in blue, red and green : sections are begun with red capitals throughout the book. The plate accompanying this article shows the beginning of Burchard's subscript to the first book.[4] The text is entire and gives us one of the earliest samples of recension A.

[1] The arguments for this identification are given by Waitz, M.G.H., SS. XXVI, 93.

[2] Migne, P.L. 182, 1117-18.

[3] The London firm of Davis and Orioli granted Mount Saint Bernard Abbey the great favour of keeping the manuscript for about ten days.

[4] Migne, P.L. 185, 266-8.

Rubrics are possibly in a different hand. There are no accents, a moderate punctuation with points and colons, e written with cedilla but not at all consistently, as though the practice were dying out.

At the end of the Life on fol. 137 is the following hexameter colophon :

Scriptoris nomen si legerit hic titulatum.
Posteritas credo testabitur hoc sibi gratum.
Ergo Lambertus cum multis scripsit et istum.
Cui pater iste bonus placet per secula Christum.
Sanctorum grandem textum jam scripserat idem.
Et mox hic scriptus anno reputatur eidem.
Hunc altimontis non inficiabitur esse.
Qui furtim non vult aliena crescere messe.

Fols. 137^{v} and 138 are used for a biographical note. There is a title characteristically written with coloured and intertwined capital letters : *Hoc te Walo tui titulo venerantur Alverni* (*sic*, probably for *Averni*). The scribe, excusing himself by the command of the superior, writes this account of Walradus, a Fleming, called Walo *ob insoliti nominis barbariem*. For most of his thirty-eight years in the monastery he has been cellarer. An indication of place is given : *quippe cum apud avesnes emporium utique vicinum nunquam fuerit*. The year of his death is recorded, 1174, recent since he is said to be well known to the readers.

Altimontis in the colophon and *Avesnes* in the biographical note make it clear that the scribe is writing at the Benedictine abbey of Hautmont in the diocese of Cambrai.

Dom J. Leclercq has written an article, *Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye d'Hautmont*.[1] Ten manuscripts are described. The inscription commonly found is *Liber sancti Petri Altimontis*. Our manuscript of the Life seems to have had the same inscription across fols. 1^{v}, 2^{r}, but the last two words have been erased. Besides the description of ten manuscripts an account is given of one lost. In the manuscript Brussels II, 979, Dom G. Galopin, librarian of Saint Ghislain (1600-57), spoke of the now lost Hautmont MS. and transcribed the following lines from fol. 129 :

[1] *Scriptorium* (1953), pp. 59-67.

Lambertus scriptor hujus libri recolatur . . .
(*line* 22) Undecies centum duo bis cum septuaginta
Sunt anni Domini quando fit iste liber.

Here is the Lambert mentioned in the colophon of our own manuscript. The *sanctorum grandem textum*, recorded there also, is probably the one described by Dom Galopin and dated 1174 in the lines just quoted, the very year which we noticed as given for the death of Walo. In our manuscript there followed the line, *Et mox hic scriptus anno reputatur eidem.* It is then highly probable that this was written by Lambert in the year of Walo's death, the same as that of the lost manuscript described by Dom Galopin. This was the year of St. Bernard's canonization, for which letters were given by Pope Alexander III at Anagni on 18 January.[1] The event may well have promoted the transcribing of St. Bernard's Life in scriptoria other than Cistercian.

The manuscript did not stay at Hautmont, for the seventeenth-eighteenth century Maurist, Dom Martène found it at the Cistercian monastery of Aulne-sur-Sambre in the diocese of Liège, where he transcribed from it the short Life of Walo.[2] About 1796 it probably passed into private hands, and now has a book-plate, possibly of the twentieth century: *Ex Libris Fraisin, Advoc. Genevensis.*

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 62. Here seem to be three manuscripts originally separate, bound together by the fourteenth century. The second, with leaves measuring 12½ by 8½ inches, occupies fols. 49-208. It begins with the five books of the Life in recension B, written in the twelfth century. On the first folio is the inscription *Liber de claustro Roffensi per Paulum priorem.* The early origin is confirmed by a mention in the Rochester library catalogue of 1202: *Vita Sancti Bernardi cum aliis.* Like the manuscript just described, this, which may possibly be the first in this country of English origin, was written in a monastery of black monks.[3] Following the Life are some works of the saint, his *Vita S. Malachiae, Liber Apologeticus,*

[1] Migne, P.L. 185, 622-5.

[2] *Veterum Scriptorum . . . Amplissima Collectio*, tom. VI. 1213.

[3] I regret not having seen the manuscript. This is not due to any lack of courtesy on the part of Mr. J. Bury, the librarian, who is precluded from sending out books from the Parker collection, but has readily answered all questions.

four letters, *De Dispensatione et Praecepto, De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae, De diligendo Deo, De Consideratione.*

Longleat, MS. 18. This fragmentary Life, bound in full leather, is well looked after in its present home, the collection of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat, Warminster.[1] There are thirty-eight large leaves of vellum, slightly planed down, 12½ by 8¾ inches, each page having double columns ruled with twenty-six lines. The script is large with letters just over ⅛ of an inch in height and spacing proportionately rather close. Headings of books and prologues have marginal capitals finely decorated in red, blue and sometimes green. Chapters have the same but smaller, an occasional subdivision having a small coloured capital. When the script is placed side by side with that of the Brussels, B.R. IV. 19 (Hautmont, 1174 or a few years later) it appears very similar, with hardly any difference in the formation of a letter but some difference in contraction marks. The Hautmont MS. is, however, more neat and precise both in script and decoration : not that this of Longleat is by any means slovenly. We have the spelling and accentuation *Willelmus sancti theódori* at least three times in the Longleat text. The spelling *Willelmus* rather than *Guillelmus*, and *Theódori*, apparently a mistake for *Theodor(er)íci* (S. Thierry) may well point to an English or Flemish rather than a French provenance.[2] Whereas Hautmont has no accents at all, Longleat has all which might be needed and a more frequent punctuation. If this is a twelfth century manuscript it is an early example of chapters numbered, though without tables at the heads of books. Nearly every chapter in Book 2 corresponds to a coloured capital in the Mount Saint Bernard MS. next to be considered. Numbering is continuous, Book 1 ending at chapter 24, Book 2 at 48, or possibly 49, since the last leaf is missing. It is likely that the numbers began again from 1 at Book 3.

[1] It has been most kindly sent to Mount Saint Bernard by Miss D. Coates, the librarian, with permission of Lord Bath.

[2] This argument from spelling is no more than suasive. *Willelmus* is sometimes found in French manuscripts. Mr. N. Ker has in fact told me that the manuscript is probably English, and I have followed his judgement in my list of provenances (p. 499).

The text is recension B. Fol. 1, much worn, gives most of the Prologue: then according to my calculation ten leaves are missing. Of the three continuous leaves following, two have been misplaced, so that according to the present foliation (in pencil at bottom right of text) they should be read in the order 2, 4, 3, giving from I, n. 17 to n. 24. Ten leaves again are missing. On fols. 5-12 follows the text I, 40-62. Two leaves are then missing. The rest, fols. 13-38, is uninterrupted, giving I, 67 to II, 53, i.e. nearly reaching the end of Book II. We have with rubrics Burchard's subscript to Book I, after William's name the phrase *postea desiderio solitudinis que quietis monacho signiacensi*, Arnold's preface to Book II. This book must have been completed on fol. 39^{v}.

Presumably the five books were written out, although we shall find the work ending at Book IV in British Museum Add. MS. 15621. The five books in recension B would have filled about 128 of these leaves, making the manuscript a little more than three times as thick as it is now. Even this would have been rather thin for leaves of such dimensions, so the original binding may well have contained other matter.

Mount Saint Bernard Abbey. Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham (ob. 1878), collected the famous Ashburnham library which was dispersed in the eighteen-nineties. *Appendix* 232, having as its chief content the Life of St. Bernard, was labelled fifteenth century, and was sold at Sotheby's on 1 May 1899 for £3 12*s.* 6*d.* It was soon recognized that the writing should be dated about 1200, and that the miniature portrait of the saint, heading the work, had been produced in the life-time of those who had known him. The manuscript passed through the hands of several booksellers, was acquired by the late Mr. James Lyell, then at the dispersal of his collection in 1951 returned to its probable origin, the Order of Cîteaux.

The portrait makes this unique among manuscripts of the Life.[1] Crude and rubbed as it is, it may seem at first glance to

[1] My fuller discussion of the manuscript and portrait is in *The Life of the Spirit* (November 1953), and in *Collectanea Ord. Cist.* (1954), 30-4, 214-21. The first folio is reproduced in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, Commission d'Hist. de

tell us nothing, but when it is compared with others it appears as one of a family, indeed as an ancestor. It can hardly be doubted that the artist had reflected upon the description of St. Bernard's outward appearance given by Geoffrey.[1] There are the frail body, moderate stature, slightly flushed cheeks, auburn beard. Over the undecorated alb, or possibly monastic cowl, is a bell-shaped chasuble, blue as was often used by Cistercians, who never assigned colours to fixed days before the seventeenth century. Stole, orphrey and footwear, are of gold. Such decorations were forbidden under St. Bernard's influence and in his life-time.[2] The artist is making the best use of the colours at his disposal, putting on to the vestments the gold which St. Bernard would have shunned, just as he places a golden aureole behind the head. What at first seems to be a low mitre is in fact an exaggeration of the monastic tonsure. Cistercian abbots did not have mitre or ring in the twelfth century, and St. Bernard himself reproved all abbots who sought such privileges.[3] There are no insignia but the crozier held in the left hand, the right being raised to teach, as so often in the early portraits. Dom Leclercq has included this as one of the earliest in a census of fifty-four portraits in manuscripts:[4] we may add that of the antiphoner in the John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 74, fol. 163^{v}.[5]

The book contains 163 vellum sheets, edges slightly planed, measuring 10 by 7 inches, each ruled with twenty-nine or thirty lines, rebound between the original boards with their clasp. The unskilled and hasty writing, coming probably from a newly founded scriptorium, indicates about 1200 as a likely date and provenance rather Flemish than French. The errors of the illiterate scribe are many, but behind them one can recognize an accurate dictation, resulting in an early and useful sample of

l'Ordre de Cît., Paris, 1953: the portrait alone is in *The Life of the Spirit*, and by courtesy of *Blackfriars Publications* accompanies this article.

[1] Book III, n. 1: Migne, P.L. 185, 303.

[2] First statutes of the General Chapter, st. 10. The date (formerly given as 1134) and origin of these statutes are discussed at length by J. A. Lefèvre in *Collectanea Ord. Cist.* (1954), pp. 157-82, 241-66.

[3] *De Officio Episcoporum*, n. 36. Migne, P.L. 182, 832.

[4] *Etudes sur S. Bernard*, pp. 40, 226.

[5] I have raised a question concerning this antiphoner in the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY BULLETIN (March 1954), pp. 295-7.

recension B. These characteristics, possibly also the marking of accents and frequent punctuation, suggest a Cistercian origin.

Up to fol. 110, with sheets missing after 32 and 34, we have the Life as usual. All that follows is in the same hand, written continuously on the same sheets. On fol. 110 we have the rubric: *Explicit. Sermo de eodem in anniversario depositionis ipsius. Quam dulcis hodie dilectissimi* . . . i.e. the sermon commonly attributed to Geoffrey.[1] It is remarkable that Geoffrey's name is not in the rubrics either of this early recension B or of the sermon. Five sheets together are lost after fol. 112 and another after 115. On fol. 116^{v} the rubric is: *Explicit. Item de eodem. Sermo novus ex veteri a sancto hylario arelatensi episcopo de beato honorato olim editus, et de tractis versibus aliquantis ad beati nostri memoriam cum offerre ipse videtur assumptus. Agnoscite dilectissimi diem publicis fidelium memoriis consecratum.* . . . An interesting witness to the uniformity of scribes is found in the MS. York Minster XVI, l. 18, written nearly three hundred years later and having the identical rubric. The wording varies only slightly in the fourteenth-fifteenth century Milan, Ambrosiana, H. 86.[2] On fol. 123^{v} we have, without any rubric, the text, *In memoria eterna justus domini constitutus* . . . , ending on fol. 125^{v} . . . *a vite corruptionibus alienus.* This describes a preternatural occurrence near Alexandria *post annos plurimos ab obitu sancti hujus*, resulting in a relic of the true Cross being given to Clairvaux. This appears in Mabillon as a conclusion to the fifth book of the Life,[3] although the rather obscure and confused style marks it as something separate from the preceding text. It is probably rare, for Mabillon found it only in the Vatican codex numbered by him 676 and it is not in any other of the manuscripts which I have so far seen or heard of in England.

On fol. 125 begins the rubric, *Incipit prephacio dompni bernardi clarevallis abbatis in vita malachie dunensis episcopi et*

[1] Migne, P.L. 185, 573-88.

[2] *Analecta S. O. C.* (1949), p. 96, recorded by Dom Leclercq, who says in *Etudes sur S. Bernard* . . . , p. 157, that the two sermons are added "généralement" in manuscripts of the *Vita Prima*. They are in two of the fourteen manuscripts studied here. The second, as preached originally by St. Hilary of Arles, is in Migne P.L. 50, 1249-72.

[3] Migne, P.L., 185, 366-8.

apostolice (*sic*) *in hybernia legati.* St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy follows, in the course of which three sheets are missing. The last sheet of the book ends with the words : *Denique audivimus sapienciam ejus ; tenuimus presentiam ejus. et. . . .*[1] There must have been three more sheets. The last would have had room for St. Bernard's hymn to St. Malachy, *Nobilis signis*, given by Mabillon after the Life.[2] It may well have been in our manuscript just as it follows the *Vita Malachiae* in Düsseldorff, Landesbibliothek, B. 26.

British Museum, MS. Arundel 63. This manuscript, with sheets $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches and thirty-nine lines to the page, is rather closely written all in one hand, and contains the following lives : St. Pelagia, St. Basil of Cappadocia, the Passion of St. Adrian, St. Bernard (fols. 49-119, the text of recension B), St. Malachy by St. Bernard, Saints Mary Magdalen, Martha and Lazarus. The Lives and the several books of the Life of St. Bernard begin with illuminated capitals. A Cistercian provenance is suggested by the accompanying Life of St. Malachy, also possibly by those features of the Mount Saint Bernard MS. which reappear, plentiful punctuation and some accents, an even greater number of divisions by coloured capitals. The style is English of the early thirteenth century. St. Bernard's last letter, to Arnold of Bonneval, author of the second book, given in the fifth book,[3] is usually introduced in the manuscript by a rubric. Here again scribes are uniform, for Ar. 63 has the rubric identical with M. S. B. as follows : *Epistola ad arnaldum bonevallis abbatem qui ei quedam exenia mittens de valitudine ejus sollicite fuerat suscitatus.* The rubric differs only slightly in other manuscripts, e.g. Brussels, B. R. iv 19 (Hautmont) and Rylands 194 (Royaumont). Unlike the previous recension B (M. S. B.), Ar. 63 introduces the Prologue to the third book with Geoffrey's name.

The manuscript has a special interest because it is one of those annotated by Thomas Gascoigne, chancellor of Oxford University and author of *Liber Veritatum* (ob. 1458).[4] Most of

[1] Migne, P.L., 182, 1114.
[2] Ibid. 1117-18.
[3] Book V, n. 10, Migne, P.L. 185, 356, 357.
[4] *D.N.B.*, vii. 920.

Gascoigne's annotations, not confined to books which he owned himself, are in Oxford College libraries, but he evidently worked in other libraries as well. Gascoigne's hand in Ar. 63 is on fols. 77, 79, 81^{v}, 82, 89^{v}, 99, 112, each time accompanied by his sign manual at the head of the leaf. The longest note is in the margin of fol. 77 in connection with a miracle: biographical details of a vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, John Feltun, to whom something similar is said to have happened. The other notes arise from his views about the proper divisions and numbering of the books of the Life. I observed these notes, but I dated them rather too early and owe my understanding of them to Mr. Neil Ker. Miss Winifred Pronger has written an admirable article on Gascoigne, and has mentioned St. Bernard as one in whom he was interested. Ar. 63 can be added to her list of annotated manuscripts.[1]

British Museum, Additional MS. 15621. Written in the style of the first half of the thirteenth century on leaves of vellum, 10 by 6½ inches, this book contains the lives of Saints Augustine, Norbert and Bernard, the last on fols. 106^{v} to 163^{v}. The whole book seems to be written by one hand, although the size of the script varies considerably. The inscription is *Liber Ecclesiae S. Mariae in Romesdorff* (*sic*), 1600. The abbey of Romersdorff, in the diocese of Trêves in the Rhineland, was founded as Benedictine in 1135 and five years later passed to the Premonstratensian Order, whose founder has second place in the volume.

The Life of St. Bernard, recension A, has one highly gilded and illuminated capital at the beginning. The scribe begins to write the name BERNARDUS in capitals, but unlike that of M. S. B. perseveres in doing so throughout the Life. There are more divisions by coloured capitals than in our probably Cistercian MS., but punctuation is much less frequent and accents are rarely marked. The writer of the subscript to the first book is called *burgardus abbas claravallensis*. This may be simply a scribe's error, but it also suggests that writers in the early

[1] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* liii. and liv. 606-26, 20-37, of which see p. 33.

thirteenth century tended to make everyone of any account end up at Clairvaux.[1]

An unique feature of the manuscript is that the fifth book of the Life is missing. The flourish at the end of the fourth book makes it clear that the writing was meant to end here. In fact, the fifth book was written as a separate work. This has appeared from our two manuscripts previous to recension A and will emerge again in the printed editions. The Romersdorff Life reflects an earlier manuscript tradition which did not unite the fifth book to the rest.

Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 3 (*olim* 3496).[2] This has a large page, 16½ by 11 inches, with double columns and forty-seven lines. Capitals have not been filled in. The book opens with glosses of Stephen Langton on the prophets: there follows in a different hand part of our *Vita S. Bernardi:* then in this same hand is the *Peregrinatio Brendani.*[3] All was written in the first half of the thirteenth century at the Cistercian Abbey of Valle Crucis, founded near Llangollen about 1200, and incidentally witnesses to the early attention paid in a Welsh Cistercian monastery to the writings of Langton. It is true that the Valle Crucis inscription is only at the beginning on the Langton glosses, but evidently all was originally one codex, or at least from one scriptorium. Although there have been at least two scribes, there is the same sort of uncouth provincial hand throughout, and the format remains exactly the same. According to the summary catalogue[4] the Life of St. Bernard runs from Book 1, chapter 21, to Book 3, chapter 25. Books 1 and 3 are the 1st and 3rd of Geoffrey, always called now Books 3 and 5: for chapter we should read n., i.e. Mabillon's paragraph number. On fol. 187^{v} of the manuscript the *Vita S. Bernardi* begins in the middle of a sentence of III, 21 with the words

[1] So with Arnold of Bonneval, according to Bodleian MS. 197, fol. 180. See above, p. 477, n. 1.

[2] I have not seen the three manuscripts at the Bodleian library. Dr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western MSS. has sent me an account and Fr. Aelred Squire, O.P. of Blackfriars, has done some careful examination and transcription.

[3] Published by C. Plummer in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1910), ii. 270.

[4] II. ii. 657.

totius orbis vota pariter. V, 25 is the usual last paragraph of the Life: the manuscript, in fact, has the ending complete on fol. 213.

Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 163.[1] This manuscript, in an eighteenth century binding, contains 105 vellum sheets, 12 by 7½ inches, planed down slightly, ruled with thirty-three lines to the page in double columns. The first five sheets are only supplementary to the binding. The Life of St. Bernard beginning at fol. 6, ends in the first column of 71. In this same column and from the same scribe begins Eadmer's Life of St. Anselm, reaching the verso of the last sheet, 105. From the appearance of the page I would not have dated earlier than mid-thirteenth century. M. R. James, in fact, in his catalogue of Lambeth MSS., says "thirteenth century not early". Capitals are decorated in red and blue in the style of the period.

Some discussion has been raised by an inscription on the top margin of the end-sheet, fol. 5: *Alboldesle cathederalium.* The place with this Anglo-Saxon name must have belonged in same way to *cathederales* or cathedral canons. Alwoodley, Yorks. (Ethelwold's clearing) is suggested by M. R. James: Abberley, Worcs., and Abbotsley, Beds. (Ealbeald's clearing), are other possibilities. The whole discussion seems to presuppose that the inscription is useful for placing the manuscript. However, these end-sheets, of a different vellum from the rest, are covered with a difficult script, much abbreviated, bearing no resemblance to that of the main text. Whatever their date or provenance, they might conceivably have joined the principal manuscript at any time up to the date of the modern binding. We could recognize a time at which the two parts were together if they had marginal annotations in the same hand. Three marginal hands can be recognized in the main text, possibly as many on the end-sheets, but no hand is found in both. There are hands in the two parts so similar that they might be taken for one another, but this identity will not survive close examination.

[1] Lambeth Palace Library sent the manuscript for my use to Leicester University College. I am accordingly grateful to both librarians concerned.

The most that can be said is that the manuscript, being bound with English end-sheets, is probably itself English. This English provenance is supported by the spelling of *Willelmus*,[1] the Life of St. Anselm immediately following in the same hand, the fact that the manuscript was acquired by Lord Lumley in the early seventeenth century (his signature is at the bottom of fol. 6, the first of the Life of St. Bernard), above all by the appearance of the script. The features which one is inclined to associate with a Cistercian scriptorium are lacking. The manuscript is likely to be Benedictine.

The rubrics are as usual, but with a trace of Geoffrey's anonymity. Not until the end do we find his name and he is here said to have been afterwards abbot of Clairvaux. He is not specially connected with the last three books, but the whole Life is *edita a Gaufrido*.

It remains to decide which we have of the two recensions. Hüffer evidently saw this manuscript and classed it as A. In fact it appears unique among manuscripts in England in that it passes from one recension to the other. Book I has all passages proper to A. Books II to V are no less definitely B, having all its characteristics, including Geoffrey's preface to Book III, though as in M. S. B. without his name. Either the scribe changed his copy after Book I or else this was done by an earlier scribe upon whom he depended. Indeed, the change might have been made in a prototype which was being written just when B first became available before the year 1170.

John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 194. This was formerly Phillipps 765. The 143 vellum sheets measure 13½ by 8½ inches, have been slightly planed down and rebound, probably in the eighteenth century before belonging to the Phillipps collection. Fols. 1-70 contain works of St. Isidore, ending with the inscription *Liber beate marie regalis montis*. Fols. 71-8 are also from Isidore, written in quite a different style and without the Royaumont inscription. The manuscript containing the Life of St. Bernard occupies the rest of the book, fols. 79-143. This ends

[1] See p. 484, n. 2.

with *Liber beate marie de regali monte*, first as a rubric in the hand of the scribe, showing that the writing was done at Royaumont, then in black ink from a larger and later hand. Finally, in a sixteenth century hand, is written *frere michel pelisson*. Hüffer discovered 384 and 9300 in the Phillipps library but not this manuscript. He probably used the catalogue printed from 1837, which under 765 gives no mention of the Life of St. Bernard, but only of the works of St. Isidore. Nor does St. Bernard's name appear on the spine of the book. In the Life there are double columns containing from thirty-three to thirty-six lines, chapter initials finely decorated in red and blue, smaller initials in one of these two colours. The beginnings of sentences are backed by red throughout the manuscript. The punctuation, especially by points, is even more frequent than in the Mount Saint Bernard MS., confirming my impression that this is a Cistercian characteristic.

The Cistercian abbey of Royaumont was founded in the diocese of Beauvais in 1228. The artistic arrangement and neat hand of a professional scribe suggest a scriptorium well established and the appearance of the pages in every way points to the middle of the thirteenth century. The text is the Life in recension B, a good specimen of its diffusion a hundred years after St. Bernard's death. A feature not found in our earlier manuscripts is a table of *capitula* at the head of each book. This is interesting enough for one table to be transcribed. The following, with strokes to indicate the separate lines, is the table at the head of the third book, devoted by Geoffrey to the virtues of the saint :

> Incipiunt capitula libri tercii. | Qualis extiterit in moribus. | Qualis in corpore. | Qualis in fugienda singularite. | Qualis in cibis sumendis. | Qualis in oratione vel meditatione. | Qualis in aliis factis. | Qualis in aspectibus suis. | De vestibus suis. et risu. et voce sua.[1] | Qualis cum rusticanis vel quibuslibet aliis personis. | Qualis in nugis aliorum. et doctrina et predicatione sua. | Quod cathedram non affectavit.[2] | Qualis in predicatione itineris ierosolimitani. | Qualis in scismaticis extat epistola pape innocentii. | Qualis in hereticis corrigendis. | Qualis in sanando clerico. | Quam

[1] A good specimen of the characteristic punctuation.

[2] In *York Minster* (*vide infra*) : *Cathedram non affectavit sed ut alter Moises patriarcha permansit.*

mirabilis in miraculis. | Qualis in extraneis et propriis sepeliendis. | Qualis in verecundia. et quam patientissimus ad injuriam. | Qualis in objurgationibus et increpationibus suis. | Quam humanus et pius etiam circa irrationabilia. | Qualis in se et in libris suis. et variis carismatibus extiterit. |

The first line of the table is a rubric, and the following have initials alternately red and blue. There are no numbers, but in the course of the book a decorated capital corresponds to each of these titles given at the beginning. Two chapters, however, are subdivided into further *capitula*. Thus the *Qualis in hereticis corrigendis* has distinct sections concerning Abelard, Gilbert of la Porrée and Henry of Toulouse. The *Qualis in objurgationibus*, etc., is subdivided for several instances. Although other arrangements were accepted, the table given above was evidently passed on, for it is substantially the same in the MS. York Minster XVI, L. 18, fol. 86.[1] In this later table headings have sometimes been expanded, as has once been instanced.

Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II, 1024.[2] *Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps Bart.* Folio. Privately printed. Middle Hill 1837-[1871]. This catalogue has the following entry: "Ms. 384. Willielmus, Abbas S. Theodorici, de Vita S. Bernardi Clarevall. (Ex Abbatia de Belloprato, prope Geraldimontem). 8vo. V[ellum]. saec. xiii."

The manuscript is now at Brussels under the press-mark given above. The *Abbatia de Belloprato* was a convent of Cistercian nuns founded in 1228 at Beaupré, near Grammont, in Eastern Flanders, then in the diocese of Cambrai, now Malines. It is not to be confounded with monasteries of the same name (Bellum-Pratum) in the dioceses of Toul and Beauvais.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS. theol. Q. 300. The catalogue quoted for the last manuscript has also the entry: "MS. 9300. Willielmus Abbas de Vita S. Bernardi. S. Bernardi Vita et Gesta S. Malachiae. Sm. 4to. V[ellum]. s. xv. Script. Ital. T. 528." The manuscript is now at Berlin as indicated.

[1] Transcribed for me by the kindness of Miss Brunskill, assistant librarian.

[2] For my knowledge of this and the following manuscript, both listed by Hüffer, I rely chiefly upon British Museum records and answers kindly sent to my questions by Mr. A. N. L. Munby of King's College, Cambridge.

T. 528 in the Phillipps catalogue means that the book was item 528 in Thomas Thorpe's *Catalogue of upwards of 1400 Manuscripts*, London, 1836. The manuscript was sold at Sotheby's at the Phillipps sale of 23 March 1895, lot 606. The sale catalogue gives more details and dates the manuscript a century earlier: "606 Malachias. De Vita Sancti Bernardi libri V. Parabola ejusdem S. Bernardi. Vita S. Malachiae Episcopi Hiberniae, fine manuscript of the fourteenth century, by an Italian scribe, on vellum, painted capitals, titles rubricated, in excellent preservation, original oak binding covered with stamped leather. 4to. XIV cent." The manuscript is partly a palimpsest. On the first page is the following inscription: "Iste liber est Monachorum congregationis sancte Justine ordinis Sancti Benedicti de observantia deputatus monasterio Sancti Petri de Saviliano signatus numero 60." St. Peter of Savigliano in the diocese of Turin became a Benedictine monastery in 1027. This inscription, which I have no means of dating, seems to leave the original provenance undetermined, though the manuscript is regarded as probably Italian in my list of provenances on page 499. The un-Italian spelling Willielmus is in the Phillipps catalogue, but I cannot be certain that it is in the manuscript.

Bodleian Library. Laud misc. 81 (*olim* 865). Here is the Life in recension A, written on leaves 10 by 7 inches and pages of twenty-three lines with coloured capitals. Mr. N. Ker is inclined to reverse the dates given by H. O. Coxe [1] for this, and the following Laud MS. and to place this in the fourteenth century. The book comes from the well-known Charterhouse near Mainz, for we read on fol. 2 in the margin above the top line, in a hand different from that of the text: *Iste liber est fratrum Carthusianorum prope maguntiam* [sic].

Bodleian Library. Laud misc. 541 (*olim* 1361). The previous Laud MS. has shown us recension A being written as late as the fourteenth century. According to the expert authority which I have followed, here it is even in the fifteenth century in another

[1] *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibl. Bodl.*, pt. 2, fasc. 1, pp. 93, 392.

Laud MS. from a Cistercian monastery in the same diocese of Mainz. The page, 9½ by 7 inches, has nineteen lines. On fol. 1, in a hand different from that of the text, is written *Liber sancte marie in Eberbach.* The name of the saint is spelt both *Bernhardus* and *Bernardus.* At the end of the fifth book is written :

> Explicit vita beatissimi patris nostri Bernardi primi abbatis clarevallis.
> Merces scriptoris sit laus perpes et honoris.
> Hic liber est scriptus. qui scripsit sit benedictus.
> Liber sancte marie virginis in Eberbach.

This last line is in the same hand as the entire text.

York Minster, XVI, L. 18.[1] The manuscript extends over 167 sheets of vellum, 8 by 5½ inches, with from twenty-five to thirty lines on a page. The text is written in an inartistic semi-cursive and very difficult hand. The principal headings have small but delicate and beautiful illuminated capitals, in red, blue and green, framed in gold, all well preserved : within these chapters paragraphs are indicated by red or blue signs. The rubrics are sometimes in red paint, well preserved, sometimes in a red ink which now is nearly brown. Letters beginning sentences are backed with yellow throughout. It was probably the writer of the entire manuscript who added marginal indications of contents after the completion of the text. I cannot discover any significance or relation to the text in the grotesque faces and pointing fingers scattered over the margins. Leaves are planed down so that marginal writing is sometimes mutilated. The binding in full vellum is seventeenth century.

On fol. 145, at the end of the Life, this colophon is written in red :

> Explicit vita sancti Bernardi Doctoris Abbatis Primi Clarevallis et ipsius Cenobii primi et precipui fundatoris : Per me Bernardum Maurocenum Decretorum Doctorem ecclesie Sancti Lucae Evangeliste Venetiarum plebanum et S. Marci Canonicum. Anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo primo, die ultimo Januarii Venetiis.

[1] This manuscript was sent to Mount Saint Bernard unasked by the kindness of Canon F. Harrison, Chancellor of York Minster, and was afterwards discussed with his assistant librarian, Miss E. Brunskill.

St. Bernard is here called a Doctor. This was traditional, and appeared in his Mass of 20 August from the time of canonization, although the title was not officially conferred until 1830. The scribe, placing his own name of Bernard against that of the saint, may well be anxious to balance the dignity of Doctor of the Church with his own doctorate of Canon Law. *Plebanus* means a parish priest and is all the more to be expected here, since it is used especially of a cathedral canon placed over a church under jurisdiction of the chapter.

The first three sheets of the book contain four letters of Alexander III for the canonization of St. Bernard, to the abbot and monks of Clairvaux, the prelates of France, the Cistercian abbots, King Louis VII.[1]

The Life, in recension B, is from fols. 4 to 145. Each book has a numbered chapter table. The numbering is continuous throughout the first two books, which contain respectively chapters 1-16, 17-25, much fewer than those of the twelfth-thirteenth century Longleat fragment. We have not, as later in the manuscript, red marginal numbers to show where the chapters indicated begin, save for a few in Book 2. Between fols. 5 and 6 a sheet has been lost, containing part of the chapter table and the first chapter. The traditional view of Geoffrey's three books as a separate work reappears in that these have a new series of chapter numbers. The last three books start at chapters 1, 22, and 34. Henceforward the chapters listed at the beginning are shown by red numbers in the margin. We have noticed the close similarity to the arrangement in the thirteenth century Rylands 194,[2] but the division has nothing in common with that of Mabillon's edition. Again there is the hesitation as to how the books should be numbered. The third is called third in its chapter table and first at its *Incipit*. The following books are expressly *quartus vel secundus, quintus vel tertius.*

The last item on the last chapter table was *Sermones de sancto Bernardo capitulum xl.* In fact, after the Life, on fols. 147 and 153, begin the two sermons already noticed in the Mount Saint Bernard codex.[3] The second, adapted from St.

[1] Migne, P.L. 185, 622-5.
[2] P. 493 of this article.
[3] Ibid. p. 487.

Hilary of Arles, is introduced by the identical rubric (save for the word *videret*, evidently a mistake for *videtur*) and then *capitulum lxviii*. The chapter number for the previous sermon was xl, and it could not have been divided up so as to end with lxvii. So the lxviii cannot be explained unless it comes from an entirely different enumeration at some previous stage in the process of copying.

In this second sermon some sheets have been disarranged and, as numbered now, should be read in the order 156, 158, 157, 160, 159, 161. This is explained if, at the binding or rebinding, the two inmost double sheets of a gathering changed places.

This text ends on fol. 161. Finally, after two blank sheets we have from fols. 164 to 167 a collection of sentences : *Auctoritates Sancti Bernardi : de beata Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria.*

This very late manuscript is by no means uninteresting. At Venice, by 1481, the printing presses had given out thousands of volumes. At least two years earlier this same text, recension B of the *Vita S. Bernardi*, had been printed in Mombritius' two-tome folio *Sanctuarium* at Milan. Under the influence of the Italian renaissance medieval saints' lives were not at the height of fashion. Yet a canon of the patriarchal basilica of St. Mark still thought it worth his while to transcribe and have well decorated the Life of St. Bernard and its kindred documents.

For a summary view of the manuscripts considered we may number them in probable and approximate chronological order as follows :

Five Twelfth Century.

(1) Paris, B. N. lat. 7561.
(2) Düsseldorff, Landesbibl. B. 26.
(3) Codex Aureaevallensis at Tamié.[1]
(4) Brussels, Bibl. Roy., IV. 19.
(5) Corpus Chr. Coll., Cambridge, 62.

[1] In the course of the essay the Cod. Aureaeva. has first place as giving the earliest text. It is a later manuscript than (1), and probably later than (2) as numbered above.

Two Twelfth-Thirteenth Century.[1]

(6) Longleat 18.
(7) Mount Saint Bernard.

Six Thirteenth Century.

(8) B.M. Ar. 63.
(9) B.M. Add. MS. 15621.
(10) Bodl. MS. e Mus. 3.
(11) Lambeth, 163.
(12) Rylands, Latin 194.
(13) Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II, 1024 (Phill. 384).

Three Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century.

(14) Berlin, Staatsbibl. ms. theol. Q. 300 (Phill. 9300).
(15) Bodl. Laud misc. 81.
(16) Bodl. Laud misc. 541.

One Fifteenth Century.

(17) York Minster, XVI, L. 18.

Three continental manuscripts have been described because they are essential to an understanding of the textual tradition. The remaining fourteen either are in England now or have been accessible to English students recently. They are conveniently representative, not only of periods, as appears from the list just given, beginning with the autograph of the twelfth century biographer and ending with a manuscript written in the silver jubilee year of Gutenberg's printed Bible, but also of provenances, which are not all certain but probably as follows:

Five British (on our list 5, 6, 8, 10, 11).[2]
Four French or Flemish (4, 7, 12, 13).
Three German (9, 15, 16).
Two Italian (14, 17).

[1] Twelfth-thirteenth means either that a date remains indefinite or that experts differ.

[2] These are not all listed, or cannot all be recognized as Lives of St. Bernard, in N. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1941). The reason for this is that the compiler listed only manuscripts which he could attribute to definite libraries and that in such a list he could not indicate the entire contents of composite books.

The preponderance of British manuscripts is what we might expect. The phrase " French or Flemish ", covering the most fruitful area of manuscript provenance, has been left vague so as to accommodate the manuscript from Beaupré and the rather uncertain Mount Saint Bernard. Of the three German two came from Mainz and its neighbourhood to William Laud's collection and may have been rescued from the Swedish soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus. The two Italian manuscripts seem to have been nineteenth century acquisitions in English libraries.

Of 6, 8 and 11 it is impossible to say that they came from any particular church or religious order. The Cistercians, besides the first three, never in England, have a fair claim to 7, 10, 12, 13 and 16, eight manuscripts in all. 4, 5 and possibly 14, are of Benedictine origin: 9 is Premonstratensian, 15 Carthusian, 17 from a canon of a cathedral chapter.

When George Hüffer sought out these manuscripts in the last century, he was able to find eight in England (on our list 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16).[1] Two of these have now left the country, but it has been possible to add five more and make a total of eleven.

All manuscripts mentioned in this article have been in print as to their substance,[2] but nothing, with one exception, has been critically edited according to modern standards. There will never be a critical Life or edition of the sources unless a view is first taken of the manuscript material. Since this is too extensive to be described in one small article, most of the foregoing pages have been restricted to England.

The exception just mentioned is the earliest biographical source, the *Fragmenta Gaufridi*. Some extracts from these were published in 1679 by Fr. P. F. Chifflet, S.J. in his *Opuscula Quattuor*, IV, *Excerpta Singularia*, again by Mabillon and in Migne, P.L. 185, col. 523 ff. An account has already been given of the critical edition of all the text published by Fr. Lechat, S.J. in *Analecta Bollandiana*, L, 1932, fasc. 1, 2.

[1] *Der Heil. Bern. v. Clairv.*, p. 108.

[2] Most of what follows is listed in the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, I, n. 1211 ff.

The *Narratio de ultimis diebus et obitu Bernardi* is in the 1719 edition of Mabillon, II, 1130 ff., with the preceding letter to Eskil. In the 1839 edition and in Migne the *Narratio* appears only as Book V of the Life.

Those who wish to read the five books must usually content themselves with the text of Mabillon, edn. 1839, II, 2089-2268, or the reprint by Migne, P.L. 185, 225-366. As already explained, Mabillon followed Horstius by placing within square brackets all pieces belonging exclusively to recension A.. This is a handy method, but cannot give more than a rough idea of the difference between the two texts. Mabillon's edition is really neither the one recension nor the other. My knowledge of the differences has been based on the study of manuscripts, but it is possible to find in print the pure text of either A or B. The Carthusian Lawrence Surius rediscovered A which he printed in *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*, Cologne, 2nd edn., 1576-81, 6 tt. in f., in IV, 768-855. The last edition of Surius was the fifth, *Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum*, Marietti, Turin, 1875-80, 13 tt. in 8vo, our Life being in VIII (1877), 436-557. Even so, Surius departed in some things from A, especially by omitting the prologue of bishops and abbots to Books 3-5 and printing instead Geoffrey's prologue which belongs to B. Later editors of Surius have often abbreviated.

Pure recension B was published by Boninus Mombritius in *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2 tt. in f., Milan, bearing no date but placed in 1479 because of historical data in the dedication. The Life of St. Bernard is I, 95^{v}-140^{v}. There are copies of this incunable at the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale, and I have examined that at the John Rylands Library. Being very rare and containing texts otherwise lost, it was thought worth an entire reprinting which was edited by two monks of Solesmes, 2 tt. 8vo, 1910.

When I had decided that B was the better historical text, meant by Geoffrey of Auxerre to be handed down to later centuries, I found that my idea had already been expressed by Vacandard.[1] The ideal edition would present this text with

[1] *Vie de S. Bernard* (ed. 1902), i, p. xxv.

moderate critical apparatus, based on collation of the best manuscripts, including some of those listed in these pages. Passages found exclusively in the *Fragmenta* or recension A would appear as appendices.

Describing manuscripts and editions is neither a recreation nor an end in itself. If something of the soul of a great monk and Doctor of the Church is to reach us across the centuries, thorough and objective research is presupposed. This article may be a very small sample of the kind of digging which must be done if men would ever refresh themselves from the hidden spring.

RYLANDS ENGLISH MS. 1111: AN EARLY DIARY OF RICHARD CROSS (d. 1760), PROMPTER TO THE THEATRES

By HARRY WILLIAM PEDICORD, M.A., PH.D., D.D.

WHEN in 1948 Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts, announced the acquisition by the John Rylands Library of an eighteenth-century theatrical calendar for the London seasons 1740-1 and 1741-2,[1] the importance of the discovery for theatre historians was immediately recognized. And while initial efforts toward identifying the compiler of the calendar were unsuccessful, as Rylands English MS. 1111 the little journal became familiar to students as a vital link between the rather thoroughly documented period when the Triumvirate of Booth, Cibber and Wilkes ruled the theatres, and the fabulous days following the Licensing Act of 1737 when the Patent Theatres were managed by John Rich, Beard, Garrick and Lacy, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

It now appears that this little calendar is a document of far greater importance than anyone has hitherto supposed. In addition to the unique information it contains, we are now able to state with certainty that it is the earliest example thus far discovered of the work of Richard Cross,[2] the prompter whose subsequent chronicles of the first twelve and a half years of the

[1] *Johnsonian News Letter*, ed. James L. Clifford, viii, no. 1 (February 1948), New York, 1948.

[2] Attribution of Rylands English MS. 1111 to Richard Cross does not rest upon an analysis of his handwriting, which differs decisively in several respects from the later Cross documents. On the other hand, when all other evidence points unquestionably to the Prompter, it is interesting to compare the writing of 1740 with that of 1747. Then the differences noted are those ordinary changes in personal style which come with the advancing years and shifting taste. In both instances the hand is conventional. And yet the Rylands manuscript in many ways impresses one as a first day-book or journal set up by a young actor-prompter—florid conventional legends to begin each season, flourishes on closing days. Such legends appear in later seasons of his Diaries, but the self-conscious air is somehow missing. The categories remain constant, the format is set; but an assured carelessness characterizes the more mature entries.

Garrick-Lacy management at Drury Lane Theatre form the basis of our knowledge of day-by-day activity in mid-century playhouses. To the thirteen manuscript diaries of Drury Lane Theatre, the Cross-Hopkins Diaries now among the holdings of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., we may add Rylands English MS. 1111, whatever name it subsequently receives. And it is reasonable to conjecture the existence somewhere of still other Cross diaries accounting for at least five seasons at Drury Lane prior to Tuesday, 15 September 1747, the opening night of the Garrick-Lacy régime.[1] Still others may be extant which antedate Cross's account of the 1740-1 season at Covent Garden Theatre,[2] the first part of the Rylands manuscript.

This earliest known Diary of Richard Cross is a calf-bound notebook of 34 folios measuring 180-112 mm.; of these, fols. 1^{v}-2, 27, and 27^{v}-34 are blank. The manuscript divides into two parts, the first of which bears the legend " Course of Play's [*sic*] / 1740 " as a " title-page " (fol. 1) and contains a calendar of productions at Covent Garden Theatre from 19 September 1740 through 15 May 1741 (fols. 1-14). The second part opens with a similar " title-page ", the legend " Course of Plays / 1741 " (fol. 14^{v}), and contains a calendar of productions at Drury Lane Theatre from 5 September 1741 through 15 May 1742 (fols.

[1] An actor's lot is always ephemeral. We are prone to forget or to discount Richard Cross's acting career and to take notice of him only as " Garrick's prompter " from 1747 to 1760, the year of his death. But it should be recalled that Cross was acting at Drury Lane in 1734-5; that at the close of the 1738-9 season he " crossed over " to Covent Garden; that he returned to Fleetwood at Drury Lane in the 1741-2 season in time to prompt the debut of David Garrick in a Patent or " legitimate " playhouse. Dougald MacMillan reminds us that Richard Cross was " inherited from his [Garrick's] predecessors " (*Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776*, Oxford, 1938, p. xxiv, n.), along with the Patent. The Rylands manuscript, then, is ample evidence that Richard Cross, as prompter, was already keeping his journals in the years prior to the advent of David Garrick.

[2] Beyond playbill information and advertisements in newspapers, the earlier history of Richard Cross is unknown. We know, however, that he came to Covent Garden from the rival house at the close of the 1738-9 season. May we not suppose, then, that he must have begun his journals at Covent Garden in the new season 1739-40, one year prior to the first entries in the Rylands manuscript?

16-26), preceded by "A List of the Company this Season"[1] on fols. 15-15v. On fol. 27 are brief entries of money received by Cross from his employer, Charles Fleetwood, the Drury Lane manager.[2] Throughout the notebook are important marginal notations in Cross's hand similar to those in his later Diaries at the Folger Library. There is, however, no indication of provenance on the fly-leaves or inner folios, and nothing is known of its history until its appearance in the collection of Joseph Mayer, founder of the Mayer Public Library, now the Bebington Public Library, Cheshire. The John Rylands Library acquired it from Bebington in November 1947.

The single clue to the identity of the compiler—and it *is* a clue—is the marginal note pointed out by Dr. Taylor in his first description of the manuscript,[3] which appears opposite a performance of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*[4] and reads, "Cibber sick, I did Bayes". Cibber, of course, is Theophilus Cibber. The elder Cibber was then seventy years old and only persuaded to come out of "retirement" on 12 January 1741, because he had promised to play Fondlewife in Congreve's *The Old Batchelor* for the benefit of his friend William Chetwood, erstwhile prompter at Drury Lane Theatre and since become a prisoner in the King's Bench.[5] Our clue, then, means that a month earlier Young Cibber sent word that he was indisposed—no doubt at the very last moment and with the prospects of an indifferent house that evening—and someone went on in his place. But who?

It is easy to see how this "clue" proved a serious stumbling-block to all who approached the problem of identifying the author

[1] The list: Milward, Delane, Theophilus Cibber, Mills, Macklin, Neale, Johnson, Arthur, Havard, Winstone, Ridout, Leigh, Ward, Gwen, Woodburn, Shepherd, Turbutt, Gray, Berry, *et al.*; Mesdames Clive, Woffington, Mills, Bennet, Cross, Ridout, Roberts, Butler, Macklin, *et al.* Among those engaged for special appearances that season were Lowe, Beard, Pinchbeck, Phillips, Colley Cibber, Mrs. Porter, Hill, Garrick, Lacy.

[2] "Receiv'd of Ch^{s} Fletewood Esq^{r} at times since the House Shut up. June 11th—£1 1s. 0d., July 13th—£1 1s. 0d., August 12th—£1 1s. 0d."

[3] See p. 503, n. 1.

[4] Fol. 7. Covent Garden, 18 December 1740.

[5] John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage . . . 1660-1830*, 10 vols. (Bath, 1832), iii. 634.

of the Rylands manuscript. The notation seems to point to an actor, to a first-rate actor, one equipped in experience and in particular roles, one able to step in at a moment's notice and perform the exacting part of Bayes in a vehicle no longer mere satire but a coarse instrument of the most savage torture in the hands of actors and audiences alike. Call the roll of Covent Garden actors that season [1]—Bridgewater, Delane, Hallam, Hippisley, Neale, Ryan—and considering the importance of their several " walks ", it is entirely possible that any of them could have substituted for the ailing Cibber. But our compiler was not only an actor. He was an actor who deserted Covent Garden the following season for a berth at Drury Lane. Only Arthur, Delane, Neale, and Cibber, Jr., fill that bill of particulars. Not even the lesser luminaries, all quite excellent understudies if need be, qualify for the Drury Lane roster during the following season. And so we are left with but three possibilities—Arthur, Delane, Neale.

At this point we face another condition which in itself rules out such men. The Rylands manuscript is a businessman's day-book ; [2] its author is not only an actor but some kind of playhouse functionary sufficiently intimate with the box-office to be able to set down each night's gross. Granted that all actors are interested in the night's take, how many would have had access to such figures ? London actors had long since disavowed the " sharing system " which governed the operation of provincial theatres.[3] We must conclude that none enjoyed such

[1] A more complete list includes the following: Anderson, Arthur, Bencraft, Bowcher, Bridgewater, Bullock, Cibber, Jr., Clark, Cross, Delagard, Delane, Dupre, Gibson, Glover, Hale, Hallam, Harrington, Hippisley, James, Leveridge, Mullart, Oats, Sr., Oats, Jr., Richards, Richardson, Roberts, Rosco, A. Ryan, L. Ryan, Salway, Smith, Stephens, Stoppelaer, Thompson, Villenueve, White. (*Covent Garden Account Book, 1740-1741*, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.)

[2] The design of the calendar is that of the later Cross-Hopkins Diaries—a day-by-day listing of mainpiece, afterpiece and other " entertainment ", the night's gross in rounded-off figures, and marginal notes concerning actors, benefits, royal and other distinguished visitors, brief criticisms of the plays or individual performances, the compiler's personal finances.

[3] See Sybil Rosenfeld, *Strolling Players and Drama in the Provinces, 1660-1765* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 28-32.

intimacy with the manager's private affairs, unless it were Lacy Ryan who was engaged in 1740-1 not only as actor but also as " stage-deputy " (stage manager) for John Rich.[1] But again we draw a blank. Lacy Ryan remained in his dual capacity at Covent Garden for some years after our compiler moved to the rival house. If no ordinary actor meets the conditions of our problem, not even a " stage-deputy " such as Ryan, could it be that we are nearer a solution as we turn our attention to the lower ranks of management itself ?

From " stage-deputy " to " prompter " is but a step. And what is more in keeping with the caste system in eighteenth-century playhouses, more appropriate to the modesty of the prompter's position as an arm of management, than the failure to identify himself among the actors engaged for the season ? As prompter he is the nearest member of the hierarchy to the acting company. He sends out the manager's commands, soothes the outraged sensibilities of the actors. He is able to keep solemn countenance at noon when the " star " sends word of a sudden indisposition. And what more natural in the exigencies of the moment than for such a prompter, himself an actor quite acceptable to metropolitan playgoers, to resume the Sock for an evening ? He knows the star's lines. He knows *all* lines. There is no need for frantic study of the night's script. " Cibber is sick ? " Then Mr. Cross the prompter will do Bayes this evening. And the entire company relaxes and gives perhaps another—routine—performance !

That Richard Cross as prompter was accustomed to this sort of emergency is underscored by further evidence within the Rylands Manuscript. Playbills and advertisements for Monday, 27 October 1740 at Covent Garden announced a stellar cast in a performance of Congreve's *The Way of the World*—Witwoud by Theophilus Cibber.[2] But a note in the Rylands calendar

[1] See *Covent Garden Account Book, 1740-1741*, Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, D.C.).

[2] The cast announced in *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser* was as follows : Fainall—Hallam ; Mirabell—Ryan ; Witwoud—Cibber, Jr. ; Petulant—Neale ; Sir Wilful—Hippisley ; Waitwell—James ; Lady Wishfort—Mrs. James ; Millamant—Mrs. Horton ; Mrs. Marwood—Mrs. Cross ; Mrs. Fainall—Mrs. Stevens ; Foible—Mrs. Kilby ; Mincing—Miss Brunette.

opposite that date reads, " Cibber ill ".[1] There is little doubt but that Richard Cross was the emergency replacement that evening, as he most certainly was on the night of 18 December in Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*. A glance at his acting career will show Witwoud to be one of his chief roles. As recently as 8 December 1739, he had acted that character at Covent Garden.[2] The provincial theatres knew him not only as Witwoud, but also as Fainall and Mirabell during summer seasons.[3] In short, while Cross's acting career remains uncharted, we discover that as early as 20 September 1734, he was acting the eunuch Selim in *The Mourning Bride*.[4] Other Congreve roles followed—Brisk in *The Double Dealer;* Tattle and Jeremy in *Love for Love;* Fainall, Witwoud, and Mirabell in *The Way of the World;* Gonsalez in *The Mourning Bride*.[5] Even after he found permanent residence at Drury Lane Cross was acting on occasion such characters as Face in Jonson's *The Alchymist*,[6] Young Rakish in Cibber's *The School Boy*,[7] Lorenzo in *The Merchant of Venice*,[8] Constant in *The Provok'd Wife*,[9] Young Worthy in *Love's Last Shift*,[10] Careless in *The Double Gallant*,[11] Charles and Sir George in *The Busie Body*,[12] Brush in Foote's *Taste*,[13] Worthy and Young Fashion in *The Relapse*.[14] For all of these he prob-

[1] Fol. 4. Theophilus Cibber did not return until five days later (Saturday, 1 November 1740) in a bill that consisted of *The Constant Couple* and *The School Boy*.

[2] Emmett L. Avery, *Congreve's Plays on the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (New York, 1951), p. 210.

[3] At Richmond Hill and Twickenham, 1744-5, 1750-1, 1751-2. Ibid. pp. 211-12. Other roles of which we have record include Richmond in *Richard III* (8 September 1744, 6 July 1745), Banquo in *Macbeth* (24 August, 6 September 1745), Claudio in *Measure for Measure* (31 August 1745), Iago in *Othello* (16 September 1746). See Sybil Rosenfeld, op. cit. pp. 291-7.

[4] Emmett L. Avery, op. cit. pp. 202-3. [5] Ibid. pp. 183 ff.

[6] Drury Lane—7 November, 12 April 1748-9; 14 October, 14 November, 2 December, 18 April 1749-50; 14, 30 November, 13 December, 9, 25 January, 2 May 1750-1. [7] 19 April 1750.

[8] Drury Lane—4 May, 8 September 1750; 10 September 1751; 21 January, 2 May, 19 September, 9 November 1752; 11 January 1753; 16 April, 15 May 1754; 20 April 1757; 18 December 1758; 13, 19 January 1759.

[9] 16 April 1751. [10] 13 September 1750. [11] 6 May 1751.

[12] Charles—14 January 1751; Sir George—2 July 1754 (a special benefit).

[13] 11, 21, 22, 23, 24 January 1752.

[14] Worthy—15 September 1750; Young Fashion—21 October 1752, 15 May 1753.

ably received no extra pay, even though such roles were beyond the regular call of duty—his prompting and his appearances as " Mr. Cross, Prompter " in afterpieces calling for that dignitary, such as Foote's *The Diversions of the Morning*[1] or Kitty Clive's *The Rehearsal : Or, Bayes in Petticoats.*[2]

To be a kind of general understudy for any acting emergency was therefore a definite part of Richard Cross's duty as prompter. And all of our evidence is confirmed by the unknown author of the pamphlet, *The Present State of the Stage in Great-Britain and Ireland.* This writer describes both aspects of the prompter's responsibility as follows : " Mr. Cross the Prompter should not be passed unnoticed, since he very often behind the Curtain supports the Performer in conveying to us the Pleasure we enjoy, by supplying in proper Time the Defects of treacherous Memory : No Man understands better the Business of the Stage, and from a long Acquaintance with all the Pieces that have been play'd for some Years past, he is perfect in a Number of Characters, and can at an Hour's Warning, fill up a Chasm caused by the sudden Sickness, or any other unexpected Accident befalling a Performer." [3]

In the light of evidence pointing to at least twenty-four roles in twenty-five acting years, it is nothing short of amazing that theatre historians (to judge by their printed works) have been confused thus far by the dual aspects of Richard Cross's employment. They would have us believe that there were *two* men—one Cross, a mid-century actor, and *Richard* Cross, Garrick's prompter at Drury Lane Theatre.[4] Baker in *Biographia Dramatica* [5] lists Richard Cross, but *only* as prompter to the theatres. He devotes the bulk of available space to James Cross, playwright, apparently unaware that he was one of the prompter's

[1] 17, 27, 30 October ; 1, 6, 9, 14, 17, 28 November, 18 December 1758.

[2] 15 March, 3, 26, 27 April 1750 ; 12, 19, March, 3 May 1751 ; 22 March, 3 April, 4 May, 31 October 1753 ; 19 April 1755.

[3] Printed for Paul Vaillant, 1753, pp. 34-5.

[4] See Emmett L. Avery, op. cit. p. 219 ; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 423 ; Sybil Rosenfeld, op. cit. p. 319 ; Elizabeth P. Stein, *David Garrick, Dramatist* (New York, 1938), p. 305.

[5] 4 vols. (London, 1812), vol. i. pt. 1, pp. 155-6.

sons.[1] It remained for Elizabeth P. Stein in establishing Richard Cross as part-author with William Hopkins and another of the *MS. Diaries of the Drury Lane Theatre*[2] to identify not only his son James, but also his namesake Richard, whose acting career began as early as 1750.[3] Only Dougald MacMillan, however, in *Drury Lane Calendar* 1747-1776 and Charles Beecher Hogan in *Shakespeare in the Theatre* 1701-1800 appear to be aware that the prompter (who was also a playwright) and the actor were one and the same person. They list not only the prompter, but also Mrs. Cross and Cross, Jr. (or Master Cross), presumably the son Richard.[4]

Still further evidence that our compiler was Richard Cross is to be found in an examination of the financial affairs recorded in the Rylands calendar. First, there is the matter of benefit nights. On 4 May 1741, for instance, opposite a performance of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Dragon of Wantley*, the compiler has written " Cross etc Tick^{ts} "; [5] and again on 8 May 1742, opposite a performance of *The Beaux' Stratagem* and *The King and the Miller of Mansfield* he has written " I had Tickets etc." [6] Now both occasions are readily interpreted from other sources as Cross benefits. The 1741 date at Covent Garden was " For Cross, prompter, Anderson, Clarke, and White," [7] while at Drury Lane in 1742 the night was " For Cross, Demaimbray, machinist, Ray. Tickets deliver'd out by Green,

[1] Baker begins his biography with James Cross's marriage to a contemporary performer, but includes no reference to the relationship to Richard Cross.

[2] Op. cit. pp. x-xi.

[3] The earliest record I have found is a listing of " Master " Cross as a member of the Richmond Hill Company in the 1748 summer season. (See Sybil Rosenfeld, op. cit. p. 294.) His first appearance at a Patent theatre was as a Page in Otway's *Friendship in Fashion*, Drury Lane, 22 January 1750. (See *Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776*, p. 249.)

[4] Oxford, 1952, vol. i (1701-50). Hogan rightly lists still another Cross, mid-century actor, whose identity is unknown. But this actor's appearance in the bills must not be confused with the actor-prompter Richard Cross. I suggest that this other actor may be John Cross (d. 1809) and that he was also a son of Richard Cross, prompter.

[5] Fol. 13. [6] Fol. 25.

[7] Charles Beecher Hogan, op. cit. p. 59.

Miss Thompson, and Miss Minors will be taken," etc.[1] Such was the informality of Cross's entries in the early days. When we arrive at 1747-8, the first season of the Garrick-Lacy management of Drury Lane, the notice reads " Benefit of Cross, prompter, and Mrs. Cross "—and so to the death of the prompter in 1760.[2] The identity of the person who " did Bayes " may remain only a closely-reasoned hypothesis, but there can be no doubt that the " l " in the entry above was Richard Cross.

Now that we have mentioned Mrs. Cross, two points involving that lady give added proof that her husband compiled the Rylands calendar. First, when Richard Cross left Covent Garden at the end of the 1740-1 season to assume what was to become a permanent post at Drury Lane, only two of the women players transferred with him, Mrs. Woffington and his wife. Secondly, although she was a prominent actress at both London theatres, Mrs. Cross's name is not down for any benefit night. Indeed it does not appear in such a capacity until it is joined with that of the Prompter's in 1747-8.

Frances Cross, *née* Sherburn (or Shireburn), appears in Drury Lane playbills as early as 7 December 1727, when she is listed for Foible in *The Way of the World*.[3] Again on 14 May 1728, as Mrs. Sherburn, she and Mrs. Burton, gallery box-keeper at Drury Lane, took Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* as their benefit.[4] And on 7 May 1729 she is listed for a Drury Lane benefit with Miss Brett when the play was *Henry IV, Part II*.[5] Her final appearance under the Sherburn name must have been made

[1] *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 8 May 1742.

[2] Twelve benefits in all. Mrs. Cross then shared a benefit each season with other players for over fourteen seasons. More significant is the brief note closing the 1740–1 season, where Cross writes " left Due 8 Days—£5 6s. 8d." This means that John Rich still owed him for eight days' work. But Cross's salary with Rich was only 6s. 8d. per day, or £2 13s. 4d. for eight days! When we recall that Mrs. Cross also received the same stipend as her husband, or £2 13s. 4d. for eight days, the total salary for both exactly equals the sum Cross claims that Rich owed him. (I am indebted to Mr. George Winchester Stone, Jr., for this note as well as many other helpful hints. The interpretation is, of course, my own.)

[3] Emmett L. Avery, op. cit. p. 208.

[4] Charles B. Hogan, op. cit. p. 32.

[5] Ibid. p. 34.

sometime in February 1735, for she married Richard Cross soon after the beginning of the new year.[1]

The new Mrs. Cross continued as a featured player in the company every season in which her husband took a benefit. She was billed in such prominent roles as Mrs. Marwood, Lady Touchwood, Araminta, Leonora, Mrs. Foresight, Lady Wishfort, Foible, Mrs. Frail, and Doll Common,[2] in addition to appearances on the provincial circuits with Cross and the actors from both London theatres who formed the Richmond Hill Company, playing Richmond and Twickenham, and on her own with the York Company.[3] In the absence of any evidence of a solo benefit, we can only conclude that in the seasons prior to the Garrick-Lacy regime Mrs. Cross must have shared jointly with her husband in all benefits and that this was understood in their articles at both houses.

The cumulative effect of all the foregoing evidence from stage history leads me to definite conviction that Richard Cross was the compiler of the Rylands manuscript. Until such evidence is proved defective, or until strong evidence for another candidate appears, it is my belief that this manuscript is the earliest known diary of Richard Cross. And it is my hope that we shall begin to conceive of the Cross family as an important

[1] Charles B. Hogan, op. cit. p. 328. The Sherburn (Hogan has Shireburn) name was still in use in a playbill for *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 13 February 1735. On 15 February 1735 she is first listed under her married name of Cross. (See also references to the Sherburn name in Emmett L. Avery, op. cit. *passim*.)

[2] Mrs. Marwood—Covent Garden, 25 September, 7 February 1739-40, 27 October 1740-1; Lady Touchwood—Covent Garden, 14, 20 May 1739-40; Araminta—Drury Lane, 3 November 1736-7, 27 March 1741-2, Covent Garden, 17 September 1739-40, 12 January 1740-1; Leonora—Drury Lane, 12 November 1735-6, Covent Garden, 28 January 1740-1; Mrs. Foresight—Drury Lane, 6 November, 21 April 1741-2, 18 September 1742-3, 15 September 1744-5, 4 December 1746-7, 20 September 1748-9; Lady Wishfort—Drury Lane, 14 May 1743-4; Foible—Drury Lane, 1 February 1750-1; Mrs. Frail—Drury Lane, 17 September 1743-4; Doll Common—Drury Lane, 7 November 1748-9, 14 October, 14 November, 2 December, 18 April 1749-50, 14, 30 November, 13 December, 9, 25 January, 2 May 1750-1, 14 April 1752-3, 2, 15, 16 December 1762-3.

[3] Husband and wife played Fainall and Mrs. Marwood on 17 August 1751; Witwoud and Lady Wishfort on 25 July 1752, at Richmond. (For other appearances together and solo see Sybil Rosenfeld, op. cit. *passim*.)

theatrical clan which more than spanned the eighteenth century.[1]

The feature of Rylands English MS. 1111 which distinguishes it from the other Cross Diaries is the peculiar sign or symbol used by the compiler on ten different nights, either alone or with other marginal notations. Those who have studied the manuscript have been baffled, and in some measure they have allowed this symbol to cloud the issue of attribution. It is in the abbreviated writing or shorthand common to most contemporary documents, but as long as it was considered as a clue to authorship it remained unsolvable. It consists of two letters—a *V* and what appears to be an *I*, a *J*, or a *T*. These are combined as "*V* : *I*" (or "*V* : *J*" or "*V* : *T*") and appear without ostensible purpose at ten different points in the calendar. But now that we have established the compiler as Richard Cross, a trusted arm of management, its meaning seems clear. Of the three possible readings, I am persuaded that Cross wrote "*V* : *T*" and that in the symbol we have an example of the common practice of "papering the house" on nights when the managers anticipated scant attendance or on minor benefit nights not worth mentioning in any formal way. The *T* would then stand for Tickets, as in

[1] The following is my conjecture as to a probable Cross genealogy:

Richard Cross I — married — Letitia Cross (d. 1737)

Richard Cross II (d. 1760) — married — Frances Sherburn (Shireburn) (1707-81)

Fan Cross
(d. 9 December 1749, aged four years)

Richard Cross III
(fl. 1748-50)

James Cross, playwright
(d. 1810)

John Cross, (actor?)
(d. December 1809)

" Cross etc Tick[ts] " and " I had Tickets etc."[1] The *V* must stand for some expression such as " Various " or " Various persons," *i.e.*, " Various Tickets " or " Various persons had Tickets " on these particular evenings. Cross's notes run the gamut from a simple " Tickets, etc." [2] (8 May 1741) through such entries as " Stoppelaer etc Tick : " [3] (12 May 1741), " Dupre & M[r] Woodward Tick. etc." [4] (22 April 1741) to " Gordon had Tickets " [5] (4 April 1741).

In the first half of the manuscript, Covent Garden season 1740-1, the symbol appears on only two occasions, 15 October 1740 [6] and 12 January 1741.[7] On the earlier date there is also the notation that " Giffard open'd " at Goodman's Fields. Now Goodman's Fields was not a Patent house, but with *any* kind of increased competition it is quite easy to see how the privileged playhouses might be forced to supplement their box office by a distribution of tickets on both benefit and non-benefit nights among the actors and their friends. Giffard had an excellent company at Goodman's Fields despite the fact that it was actually outlawed by the Licensing Act of 1737, and it was not for nothing that the Patentees more and more were taking shelter behind an Act of Parliament. The second time the symbol appears is on that great night in which Old Cibber returned as Fondlewife to play a benefit for his friend in King's Bench, the former prompter William Chetwood. Again the symbol makes sense—Mrs. Cross played Araminta that evening, the Cibber clan had its own following, and even the imprisoned prompter must have had some loyal supporters. It

[1] See p. 510. George Winchester Stone, Jr., suggests that the symbol should read " V : J " ; other scholars will, perhaps, have different explanations.

[2] Fol. 13—*The Beaux' Stratagem* and *The King and the Miller of Mansfield.*

[3] Fol. 14—*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* and *Damon and Phillida.*

[4] Fol. 12—*Love's Last Shift* and *The Sham Conjurer.*

[5] Fol. 11—*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* and *Orpheus and Eurydice.* An examination of the *Covent Garden Account Book, 1740–1741* shows that each of these entries pertains to what was known as " Half-Value-of-Tickets ", a type of benefit arrangement usually reserved for groups of minor house servants.

[6] Fol. 3—*The Mistake* and *Orpheus and Eurydice.*

[7] Fol. 8—*The Old Batchelor.*

is not difficult to understand "*V : T*" as meaning on this night that, among others, the Crosses, Cibbers, and Chetwood had tickets to be "deliver'd out" to their disciples.

When we turn to the next season at Drury Lane, 1741-2, the issue is not quite as clear. The eight nights on which Cross has placed the symbol, 12, 24 September, 4, 7, 8, 19 December, 2, 16 February, do *not* represent benefit nights. 12 September 1741 bears the notation "Cibber seiz'd"; 24 September, "great rout"; 8 December, "Fletewood's Tryal"; 16 February 1742, "M^rs^. Woff——fainted."[1] There is no unusual note set down for the other four evenings. Now if the symbol is really "*V : T*", it is well to remember that Charles Fleetwood's only anticipated novelty at the moment was the first appearance at Drury Lane of the new star Mrs. Woffington. With his usual prodigal hand this manager expended his novelty at once; he brought on Peg Woffington the second night of the season. The role was that of Sylvia in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* in which she had made her debut the previous season; the date was Tuesday, 8 September 1741. But little could Fleetwood know that twenty-one nights later at the non-Patent theatre in Goodman's Fields David Garrick would burst upon the theatrical world, that the Town would in a short while go "horn-mad" after him, and that the Patentees would face dwindling audiences. On this point the Rylands manuscript is eloquent.

[1] For an account of Cross's note on Mrs. Woffington's indisposition see page 522. Those who read the symbol as "*V : J*" find a common denominator for the above dates in the unruly career of Theophilus Cibber. That gentleman is seiz'd by the authorities on 12 September 1741; twelve nights later when he is acting a "great rout" takes place. Now while we know that Cibber, Jr., played on these nights, and that if we read the symbol as "*V : J*" it could very well stand for a representation of the Law or an impending riot, it seems unlikely that so conscientious a prompter as Richard Cross would not have set down more of the particulars on such momentous occasions which threatened playhouse decorum. And why has he not indicated *impending* disaster in more detail on the five other evenings of this season? Until more evidence is forthcoming from Cibber's biographers, I prefer to err on the side of a simpler and more practical explanation—that a prompter who is careful to set down each night's gross is also more than casually interested in nights when the house is "papered".

Drury Lane Theatre is calculated to have had a box office potential of £150 in 1740.[1] But according to Richard Cross's figures for that season the house was operating at only 57 per cent. of capacity on non-benefit, non-gala nights. Average nightly grosses were only £85.[2] Of the seven nights marked with the symbol "*V : T*" in 1741-2,[3] three grossed £100 to £130, three grossed £80 to £90, and one amounted to a mere £40. This in itself is not startling unless we know that of the 152 non-gala performances that season eighty-six performances fell below the average of £85. Six nights grossed only £40 each, one £30, and still another £20. Faced with such an array of depressing box office returns, it is easy to interpret the symbol "*V : T*" as a frantic effort to bolster attendance on these nights. In fact, we begin to wonder why more performances were not so marked.

A study of the two seasons represented in the Rylands manuscript only serves to confirm what facts we already know about the capacities and management of the two theatres.[4] Covent Garden was newer and larger than its rival. Its gross receipts and the attendance they represent were correspondingly greater. For a total of 170 performances receipts at Covent Garden amounted to £19,501, while Charles Fleetwood at Drury Lane, operating a smaller house, had to present 191 performances

[1] Harry William Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick* (New York, 1954), p. 5. Box Office figures, especially those "rounded-off", differ according to the particular document consulted. The *Covent Garden Account Book 1740-1741* at the Folger Shakespeare Library records a box office of £64 19*s.* 0*d.* for the evening of 27 October 1740, whereas Cross's figures for the same night amount to £100. Professor Emmett L. Avery (op. cit. p. 78) quotes receipts at Covent Garden on the night of Old Cibber's return to play the Chetwood benefit and the two succeeding evenings as £234 (12 January 1741), £171 3*s.* 6*d.* (13 January 1741), and £118 8*s.* (14 January 1741). Cross shows receipts for the same evenings as £250, £200, and £150!

[2] The combined gross for 152 non-benefit performances at Drury Lane this season was £12,902.

[3] Saturday, 12 September, £100; Thursday, 24 September, £130; Friday, 4 December, £90; Monday, 7 December, £80; Tuesday, 8 December, £40; Saturday, 19 September, £80; Tuesday, 16 February, £100.

[4] For a complete discussion of theatre capacity and attendance see Harry William Pedicord, op. cit. pp. 1-18.

in order to gross £18,276. Rich gave more benefit performances, forty-five in all, in contrast to Fleetwood's thirty-nine benefits at Drury Lane. Non-benefit receipts, however, were in direct proportion to the total gross at both theatres—Covent Garden £13,070 for 125 performances, Drury Lane £12,902 for 152 nights. With an average gross for non-benefit nights of £105, Covent Garden played to 53 per cent. of capacity, while Drury Lane, with average receipts of £85, played to 57 per cent. of capacity.

Both theatres gave the public what it wanted in so far as the quality of the acting roster would permit, and all productions were standard repertoire. Rich and Fleetwood preferred to rely upon the time-tested drama lighted for the moment by the magnetism of such stars as were in public favour. The list of their productions shows how closely they watched one another's operations. Their differences were merely those required by the number of playing nights and the capacity of their respective theatres. Covent Garden produces thirteen tragedies a season, Drury Lane produces nine. If Rich stages thirty-five comedies, Fleetwood offers twenty-nine. In the field of the musical entertainment, where traditionally Covent Garden was expected to excel, the record shows that the two theatres presented a like number of attractions.

But when we consider the authors represented in the repertoires, we discover one very interesting fact. Drury Lane in this period was already the recognized home of Shakespeare with fifty-nine performances of his plays as opposed to twelve at Covent Garden. At Rich's theatre the following authors were currently in favour: Farquhar, twenty-seven performances; Colley Cibber, twenty-three; Congreve's fourteen performances equalled the nights devoted to Buckingham's *The Rehearsal;* Shakespeare, twelve; Dryden, nine, etc. At Drury Lane the 1741-2 season brought the fifty-nine performances of Shakespeare, together with twenty of Farquhar, fourteen each of Colley Cibber and Vanbrugh, ten each of Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, eight of Congreve, seven of Jonson, etc. Ranking plays at Covent Garden were *The Rehearsal* (14 performances), *The Constant Couple* with the new star Mrs. Woffington in breeches (13 performances), *The*

Recruiting Officer, the vehicle of her debut (9 performances), while at the rival house the following season Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (with Mrs. Woffington as Rosalind) was performed thirteen times, *The Merchant of Venice* eleven times, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, *The Rehearsal*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*, ten performances each, Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*, nine performances, etc.

Both seasons represented in the Rylands manuscript were dominated actorwise by the two Cibbers, by the fading glories of Mrs. Porter and the sudden death of Milward, and by the brilliant debuts of Margaret Woffington and David Garrick. Despite the frequent illnesses we have previously noted, Theophilus Cibber managed to control the comedy repertoire at both houses. His industry rewarded itself by twenty-three performances of his father's plays at Covent Garden—*The Careless Husband* (2), *Damon and Phillida* (2), *The Double Gallant* (5), *The Fop's Fortune* (3), *Love's Last Shift* (3), *The Provoked Husband* (5), *The School Boy* (3)—and fourteen performances of five of these and one of his own at Drury Lane—*The Careless Husband* (2), *The Double Gallant* (3) *The Fop's Fortune* (5), *Love's Last Shift* (1), *The Provoked Husband* (3), and five performances of his pantomime *The Harlot's Progress*. Meanwhile he was cavorting through such comic roles as Bayes in *The Rehearsal*, Captain Brazen in *The Recruiting Officer*, Abel Drugger in *The Alchymist*, Lord Foppington in *The Careless Husband*, and the Congreve characters, Brisk in *The Double Dealer*, Sir Joseph in *The Old Batchelor*, Tattle in *Love for Love*, Witwoud in *The Way of the World*. His greatest feat at this time, however, was a six-night run as Bayes (Drury Lane, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27 November, 4 December 1741).

The elder Cibber's return to the stage for William Chetwood's benefit at Covent Garden, 12 January 1741, was so successful that he repeated Fondlewife for his own remuneration on the two succeeding evenings. A similar venture the following season at Drury Lane (Thursday, 3 December 1741) does not appear to have been as encouraging, at least not sufficiently to warrant more than one performance as Sir John Brute in Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*, nightly gross £182.

Another ageing star who consented to return to the theatres from time to time was Mrs. Mary Porter. Posting from her home at Heywood-hill, near Hendon, this great actress was " ever welcome to the best and most respectable families in London ".[1] The friend of Thomas Betterton and Ann Oldfield, and the recognized successor to the " solemn and august " Mrs. Barry,[2] she brought with her the stamp of ancient authority despite her increasing infirmities. Mrs. Porter, however, with all her tragic repertoire and reputation for " exquisite judgement ",[3] was no match for old Colley Cibber at seventy. She appeared for her benefit (15 January 1741) as Isabella in Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*, supported by a cast that included Mrs. Woffington as Victoria.[4] Perhaps it was merely that this tragedy queen's night followed immediately the three-night stand of Master Colley; but the London public gave Mrs. Porter a £180 gross in contrast to Cibber's nights of £250, £200, and £150. But such was always the box office verdict between Comedy and Tragedy. Mrs. Porter then embarked upon a round of her favourite characters—Zara in Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* (28 January 1741), Hermione in Philips's *The Distress'd Mother* (17 February 1741), Alicia in Rowe's *Jane Shore* (26 February 1741), Lady Macbeth (5 March 1741), and on the " last time of Mrs. Porter "[5] Statira in Lee's *Alexander the Great: Or, The Rival Queens*. Box office figures in the Rylands calendar show her nights as Isabella, Zara, and Statira to have been the most popular, £180 (benefit), £165, and £120, with Hermione, Alicia, and Lady Macbeth each grossing £100.

According to Davies, this grand lady of the theatres not only had " exquisite judgement " but also a delightfully wholesome attitude toward her advancing age and decreasing powers. He writes that, " Though she greatly admired Betterton, and had seen all the old actors of merit, she was much charmed with Mr. Garrick, and lamented her want of youth and vigour to exert her

[1] Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, 3 vols. (London, 1784), iii. 464.

[2] Tony Aston, *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, Esqr.* (n.d.), reprinted in R. W. Lowe's ed. of Cibber's *Apology* (1889), ii. 303.

[3] Thomas Davies, op. cit. iii. 469.

[4] Rylands English MS. 1111, fol. 8.

[5] Ibid. fol. 11.

skill with so great a genius ".[1] The Rev. Thomas Newton wrote to Garrick on Monday, 26 April 1742, to say that " Mrs. Porter is no less in raptures than the rest; she returned to town on purpose to see you, and declares she would not but have come for the world. You are born an actor, she says, and do more at your first appearing, than ever any body did with twenty years' practice; and, Good God, says she, what will he be in time! "[2] Was this the spirit which Dr. Johnson really wished to describe behind the mask of wrinkles on Porter's face, when he declared that " a picture of old age in the abstract might be taken from her countenance "?[3]

Mary Porter lived out the remaining years of her very long life in the comfort of a nobleman's respectful support and the consolation of two loyal friends, Mrs. Cotterell and Mrs. Lewis. William Milward, an actor of the very first rank according to his contemporaries, one who just missed the greatness of a Garrick, died of a distemper (pneumonia?) caught in the line of duty on the Drury Lane stage in mid-season, 1741-2. His tragic end is a matter of record in the second part of the Rylands calendar.

From the early days, when as a promising juvenile he was engaged for Sharper in Rich's production of *The Old Batchelor* at Lincoln's Inn Fields, William Milward's rise to eminence was gradual but continuous. Under the Rich banner at Lincoln's Inn Fields and at the new Covent Garden Theatre he acted such Congreve characters as Maskwell, Lord Touchwood, Mellefont, Valentine, and Osmyn. As Mellefont he was a part of the memorable run of *The Double Dealer* when that comedy was performed thirteen nights at Drury Lane in the season 1735-6. He continued to delight audiences as Valentine in *Love for Love* and as Osmyn in *The Mourning Bride* until his untimely death. But it was in the tragic roles like Osmyn that he won greatest acclaim. Davies was impressed by his playing of Lusignan in Aaron Hill's tragedy of *Zara* and wrote, " His Lusignan . . . was not much inferior to Mr. Garrick's representation of that

[1] Op. cit. iii. 469.

[2] David Garrick, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, ed. James Boaden, 2 vols. (London, 1832), i. 8.

[3] Thomas Davies, op. cit. p. 470.

part.—Milward chose Booth for his model; and, notwithstanding his inferiority to that accomplished tragedian, he was the only performer in tragedy, who, if he had survived, could have approached to our great Roscius; who, though he would always have been the first, yet, in that case, would not have been the only actor in tragedy. . . ." [1] The same critic suggested that "All the surviving spectators of Milward's Prince of Denmark will be pleased to have him recalled to memory; for . . . he was not only an agreeable, but a skilful actor: his voice was full and musical; and, in this character, he seemed to forget that love of ranting, which was his singular fault." [2] Mark Antony in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and the King in *Henry IV, Part II* were also outstanding Milward roles.

The actor's fatal illness was the beginning of the strange doings which enveloped the Drury Lane production of Shakespeare's comedy *All's Well that Ends Well* that season, when at each performance different members of the cast were stricken with varying maladies.[3] Milward's illness actually began during rehearsals for this comedy, but he was so far recovered as to be able to play the role of the King on opening night, Friday, 22 January 1742. On this night, however, according to Davies, "Milward, who acted the King, is said to have caught a distemper which proved fatal to him, by wearing, in this part, a too light and airy suit of clothes, which he put on after his supposed recovery. He felt himself seized with a shivering; and was asked, by one of the players, how he found himself? 'How is it possible for me', he said, with some pleasantry, 'to be sick, when I have such a physician as Mrs. Woffington?' This elegant and beautiful actress was the Helen [*sic*] of the play. His distemper, however, increased, and soon after hurried him to his grave." [4]

At this point the Rylands manuscript is able to prove a disputed incident in this "unfortunate" comedy's history. According to Genest, the stricken one on opening night was not Milward, it was Mrs. Woffington.[5] The historian states that

[1] Op. cit. ii. 8-9.
[2] Op. cit. iii. 113-14.
[3] Milward, Woffington, Mrs. Ridout, Mrs. Butler.
[4] Op. cit. ii. 7-8.
[5] Op. cit. iii. 645.

the lady fainted from illness and that her part was read, that the comedy was advertised for the following Friday, when, if Mrs. Woffington was still unwell, Mrs. Mills would undertake to play Helena. He concludes by saying that the intended performance was deferred to 16 February because of Milward's illness. All this mis-information is corrected by Charles Beecher Hogan, who writes: "It was on this night [16 February 1742], and not on January 22, that Mrs. Woffington was unable to appear. An undated clipping from the London Daily Post . . . reads, 'Last Night, in the First Act of All's Well . . . Mrs. Woffington was taken so violently ill, that she fainted away. . . . After a proper Apology being made, the Audience with great Humanity and Patience, waited till another person dress'd to read the Part.' The date of the clipping is February 17, since it also refers to other arrangements at the theatre, all of which were fulfilled in the course of the week of February 15-20. Mrs. Woffington had first been taken ill *after* January 22, and the bills announced several deferments of *All's Well* for this reason. Genest says that 'the play was advertised for the following Friday'. . . . The Friday in question was not January 29, but February 19, *q.v.*, on which day Mrs. Woffington was in fact well enough to perform Helena, for the second time." [1] Hogan's correction is further supported by Richard Cross's entry opposite the performance on 16 February in the Rylands manuscript. On the evening of the *second* scheduled performance Cross wrote—"V: T. Mrs Woff—fainted." [2]

The resulting confusion surrounding this comedy is quite in keeping with Thomas Davies' account of the fate of other members of that cast in the nine subsequent performances that season.[3] Of Milward's plight we are already aware. Of the misfortunes which pursued the rest of the cast Davies writes: "All's Well that Ends Well was termed, by the players, the unfortunate comedy, from the disagreeable accidents which fell out several times during the acting of it. Mrs. Woffington was suddenly taken with illness as she came off the stage from a scene

[1] Op. cit. p. 88. The clipping is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
[2] Fol. 22.
[3] 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27 February, 23 March 1742.

of importance. Mrs. Ridout, a pretty woman and a pleasing actress, after having played Diana one night, was, by the advice of her physician, forbidden to act during the month. Mrs. Butler, in the Countess of Rousillon, was likewise seized with a distemper in the progress of this play." [1]

To return to William Milward—he was recovered from his illness sufficiently to be announced for a performance of *Hamlet* four nights later (26 January 1742). Indeed, while there is no mention of him in the playbills, it is entirely possible that he performed his regular part of the Beggar in *The Beggar's Opera* on Saturday, 23 January. But the following Tuesday he was stricken at the last moment, and the role of the Prince of Denmark was read that evening by Theophilus Cibber. Eleven days later, opposite the night of Saturday, 6 February, Richard Cross has written "Milw^{d} dy'd—Rec'^{d} 5 pounds." [2] Four more days and his entry for Wednesday, 10 February, is "Milw^{d} Bury'd—Rec^{d} 6 pounds—Duke etc." The following Tuesday, 16 February, Dennis Delane assumed the role of the King in *All's Well that Ends Well.*

The brilliance of Margaret Woffington's debut at Covent Garden Theatre in 1740-1 can be read in the box office gross of £200 for that evening. But Richard Cross's laconic entry opposite the thirty-second performance of the season, *The Recruiting Officer* and *The What D'ye Call It?* says simply "Woffington play'd—Prince of Wales." [3] Once properly presented to the Covent Garden audience, Peg's triumph is assured and consistent throughout the season. She repeats the role of Sylvia on the following Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday nights, to the considerable total of 380 more pounds. She plays Mrs. Sadlife to the Attal of Cibber, Jr., in Colley Cibber's *The Double Gallant;* she romps through the part of Aura in the old comedy *Country Lasses;* she appears again as Sylvia. And all to the merry music of nightly grosses which never fall below £100.

[1] Thomas Davies, op. cit. p. 9.

[2] Rylands English MS. 1111, fol. 22.

[3] Ibid. fol. 4. Genest gives the cast for this night as follows: *Plume*—Ryan; *Brazen*—Cibber, Jr.; *Balance*—Bridgewater; *Kite*—Rosco; *Worthy*—Hale; *Bullock*—Neale; *1st Recruit*—Hippisley; *Melinda*—Mrs. Ware; *Rose*—Mrs. Vincent; *Lucy*—Mrs. Kilby; *Sylvia*—Miss Woffington. (Op. cit. iii. 631.)

Other roles follow in rapid succession—Elvira in Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar*, Victoria in Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*, Millamant (for her benefit) in *The Way of the World*, Phillis in *The Conscious Lovers*, Cherry in *The Beaux' Stratagem*, Violante in Theobald's *The Double Falsehood*. But in addition to the nine nights as Sylvia in *The Recruiting Officer*,[1] there were two other triumphs that first season which were a direct tribute to the impact of her vivid personality upon the Prince of Wales and upon the Town. "By particular desire", Mrs. Woffington, "wore the breeches" as Sir Harry Wildair in Farquhar's *The Constant Couple* for ten successive nights and then at intervals returned in the role five more times before the season's close. The results at the box office were fabulous.[2] The second triumph was the night of 12 January 1741, when she played Laetitia in Congreve's *The Old Batchelor* opposite old Colley Cibber for the gala benefit of William Chetwood.

The season of 1741-2 found Mrs. Woffington at Drury Lane under Fleetwood's management. Here she again made her first appearance as Sylvia in *The Recruiting Officer*, Tuesday, 8 September 1741. Appearing in her old parts, she repeated at Drury Lane her success as Sir Harry Wildair (5 performances), Sylvia (9 performances), Cherry (4 performances), and again she caused a sensation by her playing of Rosalind in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (15 October 1741) and repeated her performance for twelve more nights that season.[3] Her experience with the *All's Well that Ends Well* cast we have already considered. From the Rylands manuscript one fact is immediately apparent, that in Margaret Woffington the new male star David Garrick had his only formidable rival at the box office. The town went "horn-mad" over the Gentleman, but it took the Lady to its heart!

[1] 6, 8, 10, 11, 19 November, 30 December 1740; 14 February, 10 April, 11 May 1741.

[2] 21 November, £180; 22 November, £140; 24 November, £100; 25 November, £120; 26 November, £100; 27 November, £200; 28 November, £110; 29 November, £100; 1 December, £100; 2 December, £80; 9 December, £110; 20 December, £100; 9 January 1741, £120; 24 January, £200; 3 April, £200.

[3] 16, 17, 19, 28 October; 10, 28 November; 21 December; 16 January; 9, 11 March; 8 April; 20 May 1742.

If Peg Woffington drew the customers into the Patent Theatres, David Garrick drew them away again to Henry Giffard's little playhouse in Goodman's Fields (Ayliffe Street). And the alarm of the Patentees evidenced itself in a threatened lawsuit against Giffard and his new star, invoking the Licensing Act of 1737. When the brief altercation was ended, Garrick was articled to Fleetwood at Drury Lane for the sum of £500 a season beginning 1742-3, and Giffard had transferred his management to the older and larger theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he struggled through one more season before conceding victory to the Monopoly and engaging himself and his wife to act under the Fleetwood banner. But instead of waiting for the new season David Garrick made his " legitimate " bow at Drury Lane on 11 May 1742, and appeared in three other roles before the season closed on 31 May. In all of his career the shrewd box office sense that Garrick possessed is nowhere more apparent than in these four performances. His appearance at the very end of the season was intended to show his generosity toward the Widow Harper, whose husband, the John Harper renowned equally for his Falstaff and for his narrow escape from the Vagrancy Act, had died earlier in the year. *The London Daily Advertiser* for 30 April 1742, had carried this pathetic appeal: " The Case of the Widow of the late John Harper, Comedian: ' Mr. Harper, having been seiz'd about four years since with a Paralitis Disorder, which not only rendered him incapable of acting, but depriv'd him of the use of his limbs, and in some degree affected his senses so as to make him an object of great compassion; during which long and dreadful Indisposition of near four years all possible means were tried (tho' in vain) to recover him, which impair'd and hurt his Circumstances, so greatly as not to permit him to leave a sufficient Support for his Widow, who is in years and unprovided for.

" ' Mr. Harper dying in January last, according to a custom in the theatre his widow is entitled to a Benefit, and the Comedy of *The Miser* is to be acted tomorrow night for her benefit, at Drury Lane; but as she is incapable of making a proper interest for it, without applying to the Compassion and Generosity of the Publick, she hopes to be excused in giving them the Trouble of this her case.' "

But the Widow's benefit brought her less than the charges of the house, a mere £50. At this point David Garrick came forward as the Widow's champion, and *The London Daily Advertiser* for 7 May 1742, announced that the new star from Goodman's Fields would voluntarily perform for another benefit on behalf of Mrs. Harper. Combining business with charity, Garrick took advantage of a splendid opportunity to give a Patent audience a taste of his theatrical wares in advance of a new and uncertain season. The character he chose was that of Chamont in Otway's *The Orphan*. The high gross of £240 for the Widow's night was more than offset for Garrick and Fleetwood[1] by the three additional nights in which he played Bayes in *The Rehearsal* (£150), *King Lear* (£160), and *Richard III* (£171). Those who could not or would not journey out to Ayliffe Street came to Drury Lane, saw the new Roscius, and were won by his "natural" way of acting. When he returned from Ireland to open the new season 1742-3, they would be waiting for him at the box office.

When the history of Richard Cross and his family is finally set down, it is possible that many more points of interest in the Rylands English MS. 1111 will be readily explained. Meanwhile it is perhaps enough to be able to place the small journal in proper sequence with its more illustrious companion-pieces, the *MS. Diaries of the Drury Lane Theatre*. And yet one further question perplexes us. If Richard Cross was the compiler of the Rylands theatrical calendar, how does it happen that it was not found with the others in the Cross-Hopkins series? Elizabeth P. Stein supposes that "... when, on June 10, 1776, Garrick retired from the stage, he took with him from the playhouse ... various personal manuscripts, among them these *MS. Diaries of the Drury Lane Theatre*."[2] Then why was the Rylands manuscript not among the other material?

As we have seen, Garrick "inherited" Richard Cross as his prompter when he assumed the management of Drury Lane in

[1] Thomas Davies writes, "Before the end of the winter season of 1742, Mr. Garrick made an agreement with Mr. Fleetwood to share the profits arising from his acting of Richard the Third, Bays and King Lear." (*Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London, 1780) i. 51.) The Widow's benefit was indeed a fine advertisement for the completion of this contract.

[2] Op. cit. p. xiii.

1747. And Cross had worked for other managements, most of them not as meticulous as Garrick and Lacy. Now while it is conjecture, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Rylands manuscript was one of several in Cross's possession when he made a final transfer to Drury Lane in 1741. And to these he would add other diaries covering the seasons from 1742-3 to 1747. But when Richard Cross died, 20 February 1760, and his work was continued by William Hopkins and another, we can suppose that Garrick requested and received of the Widow Cross such documents as properly pertained to his management. This was the right of Garrick and his partner. But Garrick either did not know or did not care that journals dated prior to 1747 remained among the Cross family papers; or the Cross family may not have considered any material prior to 1747 as strictly Mr. Garrick's property. In any event, it is possible that the Rylands calendar descended by entirely different channels to Mr. Joseph Mayer, to Bebington, and thence to its present resting place in Manchester.

NEHEMIAH'S MISSION AND ITS BACKGROUND [1]

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AT the opening of the book of Nehemiah we read that some Jews came to Susa bringing sad news of Jerusalem and the Palestinian community.[2] This news soon reached the ears of Nehemiah,[3] who was the king's cup-bearer,[4] and caused him such intense grief that one day, four months later [5]—doubtless on a carefully selected occasion—he displayed it in the king's presence. When asked the cause of his sadness he not merely revealed it to the king, but asked for authority to go to Jerusalem to rebuild the city walls. Finding favour with the king he had his request granted, and was furnished with letters of authority, and soon set out for Jerusalem to carry out his mission.[6] The

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 10th of February 1954. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes below: *A.J.S.L.* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *B.A.* = *Biblical Archaeologist*; *C.A.H.* = *Cambridge Ancient History*; *C.R.A.I.* = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*; *D.B.* = *Dictionary of the Bible*; *E.B.* = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; *E.T.* = *Expository Times*; *G.G.A.* = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*; H.A.T. = Handbuch zum Alten Testament; *H.S.A.T.* = Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*; *H.U.C.A.* = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; I.C.C. = International Critical Commentary; *J.A.O.S.* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *J.B.L.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.H.S.* = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*; *J.N.E.S.* = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; *J.P.O.S.* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; *J.Q.R.* = *Jewish Quarterly Review*; K.e.H. = Kurzgefasste exegetische Handbuch; K.H.C. = Kurzer Hand-Commentar; *N.G.W.G.* = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Phil.-Hist. Kl.); *N.T.T.* = *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*; *R.B.* = *Revue Biblique*; *R.G.G.* = *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; *R.H.R.* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; S.A.T. = Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl; *S.D.B.* = *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (edited by Pirot and Robert); *T.T.* = *Theologisch Tijdschrift*; *V.T.* = *Vetus Testamentum*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

[2] Neh. i. 2. [3] Neh. i. 3.

[4] On the position of the cupbearer, cf. Hastings's *D.B.* i (1898), 533b.

[5] Cf. Neh. i. 1 and ii. 1. On the calendar problems which these verses raise, cf. H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Camb. B.), 1923 edn., pp. 146 ff.

[6] Neh. ii. 2-8.

news which had caused Nehemiah this grief was that the Jews were in trouble and shame, and that the wall of Jerusalem was broken down and its gates destroyed by fire.[1]

The name of the king, whose cupbearer Nehemiah was, is given as Artaxerxes, and the incident is located in his twentieth year.[2] Three Persian kings bore the name Artaxerxes. Of these the first reigned from 464 to 424 B.C. His twentieth year would thus be 444 B.C. That Jerusalem had been cruelly destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar in 686 B.C. is, of course, securely known, but this could scarcely be the event to which the report which saddened Nehemiah refers; for it would seem to be a little belated to be overcome with grief on hearing about this a hundred and twenty years later, and it can hardly be supposed that Nehemiah had not heard of it before. Clearly we should look for some incident nearer to his own time. If—as some have held—the Artaxerxes whom Nehemiah served were one of the later kings of that name,[3] the need to look for some more recent incident would be even more imperative.

In the book of Ezra we read that in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Ezra was sent on a royal mission to Jerusalem, armed with a Book of the Law, and authorized to regulate the worship of the Temple and to offer sacrifices at the royal charges.[4] If this was the same Artaxerxes, then Ezra had preceded Nehemiah by some years, and it would seem reasonable to look for some disaster to Jerusalem during this period to account for Nehemiah's grief. No record of any such disaster is given in the account of Ezra and his work, but it is curious to find that Ezra is represented as reading the Book of the Law in the twentieth year of the king's reign,[5] and in Nehemiah's presence.[6] His delay in executing his mission stands in marked contrast to the vigour and speed with which Nehemiah addressed himself to his when he reached Jerusalem. Some have supposed that Ezra neglected his proper mission and meddled with other things disastrously, and so brought about the misfortunes which distressed Nehemiah. For this supposition there is no evidence in the Bible, and it by

[1] Neh. i. 3. [2] Neh. ii. 1. [3] On this see below.
[4] Ezra vii. 1 ff. [5] Neh. vii. 73. [6] Neh. viii. 9.

no means disposes of all the difficulties of the question. But to this we shall return.

In Ezra iv we have a curious story which adds to our problems. It begins by telling us of Zerubbabel and the exiles who returned with him in the time of Cyrus.[1] They restored the altar in Jerusalem and laid the foundations of the Temple, according to the authority given to them by Cyrus, when they ran into opposition from "the people of the land",[2] so that they were unable to continue their work until the days of Darius. If this means Darius I, who reigned from 522 to 486 B.C., we are carried down to the time of Haggai and Zechariah. The next verse tells us that the adversaries of the Jews wrote an accusation against them to Ahasuerus in the beginning of his reign.[3] Ahasuerus is to be equated with Xerxes, who followed Darius I, and who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. Then, the story proceeds, in the reign of Artaxerxes — presumably Artaxerxes I, who followed Xerxes—a complaint was sent to the king that the Jews who had come up from the east were engaged in rebuilding the walls of the city, and that this might be dangerous to the state in view of the past history of Jerusalem. The king made inquiry concerning this history, as the result of which he ordered the cessation of the work until his further pleasure should be made known.[4] The account closes with the surprising statement that the work on the house of God ceased until the second year of Darius.[5]

If the reference here is to Darius II, who reigned from 423 to 404 B.C.—the short reign of Xerxes II having followed that of Artaxerxes I—we are brought up against the fact that it was in the second year of Darius I that the successful rebuilding of the Temple was begun,[6] and indeed the account in Ezra is continued in the story of that rebuilding under the inspiration of Haggai and Zechariah.[7] If the reference is to Darius I, then we appear to be in Topsy-Turvy Land, where the work is brought to a

[1] Ezra iv. 1-5.

[2] This phrase appears in this context to mean the Samaritans, though this is not its normal meaning.

[3] Ezra iv. 6. [4] Ezra iv. 7-23. [5] Ezra iv. 24.

[6] Cf. Hag. i. [7] Ezra v f.

standstill from the time of Artaxerxes to the days of one of his predecessors. Two other curious features of this chapter need to be noted. The first is that it begins in Hebrew, and then continues in Aramaic ; [1] the second is that whereas the complaint to the king is of the rebuilding of the *walls*, the result is said to be that the rebuilding of the *Temple* was brought to a standstill.[2]

Here we have a tangle of inter-related problems that has been long discussed without yielding any final solution, and to which final answers cannot be given. Like so many Biblical problems the evidence is insufficient for any demonstration, and nothing more than probability can be claimed for any solution adopted. The first step towards finding a solution lies in realizing the intricate character of the problem, and it is usually found that a study of the solutions offered will best bring this out.

The first question is of the origin and reliability of the Aramaic sections of the book of Ezra. These sections are found in Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18 ; vii. 12-26. They consist mostly, but not entirely, of what purport to be official documents, but there are connecting narrative links. On the whole, it seems to be agreed that the author of the book of Ezra—whom we will call the Chronicler—extracted these sections from some older Aramaic source, but perhaps with slight additions from his own pen. As against this some have held chapter iv [3] or chapter vii [4] to be wholly the creation of the Chronicler.[5] Chapter vii does not directly concern us here, but so far as chapter iv is concerned, it is hard to suppose that it is the free creation of the Chronicler, since it fits so ill into its context. Granted, however, that the Chronicler took over the materials of the Aramaic sections from an older source or sources, the question of the

[1] Verses 1-7 are in Hebrew and the rest in Aramaic. [2] Ezra iv. 24.

[3] So W. H. Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël* (1893), pp. 72 ff. (German trans. by A. Basedow (1895), pp. 61 ff.).

[4] So C. C. Torrey, *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 209 ff. = *Ezra Studies* (1910), pp. 140 ff.

[5] Cf. A. Kuenen, *R.H.R.* xiii (1886), 340 (German trans. by K. Budde in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1894), p. 375, where it is held that Ezra vii is the composition of the Chronicler, who embellished his source with great freedom.

authenticity and historical value of these sections remains to be considered.

Here there have been some scholars who have disputed that authenticity and historical value, in the case of some or all of the letters,[1] while others, though denying their authenticity, have allowed that they contain some historical kernel.[2] Others, following E. Meyer,[3] have held the letters to be authentic,[4] or at least reliable in substance.[5] The Jewish tone of the royal letters and decrees, which used to be regarded as inconsistent with their authenticity,[6] has ceased to be valid evidence against

[1] T. Nöldeke (*G.G.A.* (1884), p. 1015 n.; cf. *Die semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd edn. (1899), p. 35 n.) pronounced against the genuineness of that in Ezra vii, and so A. S. Kapelrud (*The Question of Authorship in the Ezra Narrative* (1944), p. 42). W. O. E. Oesterley (*History of Israel*, ii (1932), 112 f.) also rejects it as the composition of the Chronicler or of one of his school and wholly unhistorical. H. Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, 3rd edn., II. ii. 80 n., 92 n., 118 n.) disputed the authenticity of all the letters, as also did Kosters (*Het Herstel*, pp. 28 ff., 63 ff. = German trans., pp. 24 f., 54 ff.; cf. *E.B*, ii (1901), 1480 f., 1484). Torrey also dismisses all the letters as worthless (*The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896), pp. 7 ff., 55 ff.; *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 209 ff. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 140 ff.), and is followed by H. P. Smith (*Old Testament History*, 1911 edn., pp. 348 ff.) and G. Hölscher (*H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., ii (1923), 494 f.; *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922), p. 141). L. E. Browne (*Early Judaism*, 1929 edn., pp. 36 ff. and 44 f.) holds them to be spurious or embellished and of little independent worth. Cf. also R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), pp. 829 f.

[2] So J. Wellhausen, *N.G.G.W.* (1895), pp. 169, 175 f.; cf. *G.G.A.* clix (1897), pp. 89 ff.

[3] Cf. *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (1896), pp. 8 ff., 70.

[4] So J. Nikel, *Die Wiederherstellung des jüdischen Gemeinwesens* (1900), pp. 132 ff.; C. Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.*, 5th edn. (1905), p. 155 (English trans. by G. H. Box, 1907, p. 250); A. Bertholet, *Esra und Nehemia* (K.H.C.) (1902), vol. xv (cf. *R.G.G.* ii (1910), 644); M. Haller, *Das Judentum* (S.A.T.), 2nd edn. (1925), pp. 9, 76 ff., 117, 177 f.; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, p. 598; E. Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 7th edn. (1935), pp. 155 f. (English trans. of 3rd edn. by W. Montgomery (1923), p. 239; cf. *Serubbabel* (1898), pp. 52 ff.); M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (1950), p. 265 n.; M.Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), pp. 540 ff.; A. Fernández, *Comentario a los libros de Esdras y Nehemías* (1950), pp. 131 ff., 155 f. For answers to the objections that have been raised, cf. de Vaux, *R.B.* xlvi (1937), 51 ff.

[5] So S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th edn. (1913), p. 549; J. E. McFayden, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1932 edn., p. 388.

[6] So B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1888), 122n., 159n.

them since the publication of the Elephantine Papyri from Upper Egypt, which became known in the early years of the present century. For amongst these papyri one document was an order to the Jewish community in Elephantine, issued in the name of the Persian governor, commanding them to observe a feast which is almost certainly the Feast of Unleavened Bread.[1] It has often been suggested that Ezra himself may have been entrusted with the drafting of the document in chapter vii.[2] In this document he is represented as armed with royal authority to regulate all questions affecting the Jewish faith. He carries the Book of the Law, whose provisions he is instructed to carry out. Schaeder has suggested[3] that the title "Scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven", which he bears,[4] indicates an official appointment, carrying responsibility for all questions affecting

[1] Cf. AP 21 (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923), pp. 60 ff.). This is frequently referred to as the Passover Papyrus, though in its present broken state the word Passover does not occur in it. It is an order to keep a festival in the month of Nisan from the fifteenth day to the twenty-first, and there is a reference to leaven. In Cowley's reconstruction of the text it is an order to keep the Passover and the feast of Unleavened Bread, but this is a purely conjectural reconstruction. E. G. Kraeling (*The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), p. 95) thinks it an unlikely reconstruction, and offers reasons for doubting if there was any reference to the Passover. On the other side, however, cf. J. Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1935), 114 f. n., A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (1937), pp. 234 ff., and A. Dupont-Sommer, *R.E.J.* (n.s., vii, cvii (1946-7), 39 ff. The latter argues that there is other evidence, preserved on ostraca from Elephantine, to show that Passover was observed in the colony much earlier than this, and holds that the purpose of the papyrus was to fix the date of Passover rather than to enjoin its observance. For our present purpose it seems wiser not to go beyond the surviving evidence of the papyrus, and to consider it simply as an order concerning the feast of Unle vened Bread. So earlier W. R. Arnold, *J.B.L.* xxxi (1912), 9 and J. A. Montgomery, *J.Q.R.*, n.s., xxiv (1933-4), 153. It is none the less significant to find such an order sent from the king. Cowley observes (op. cit. p. 62): "What has hitherto seemed incredible is that they (i.e. the Persian kings) should have concerned themselves with details of ceremonial, as in the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7, but the present papyrus (and the style of other letters in this collection) removes all reason for doubting the genuineness of the Persian letters in Ezra."

[2] Cf. R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii, part 2 (1929), 583; H. H. Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* (1930), pp. 53 ff.; A. C. Welch, *Post-exilic Judaism* (1935), p. 255.

[3] Op. cit. pp. 39 ff.

[4] Ezra vii. 12, 21.

the Jewish faith.[1] Whether this is so or not,[2] he is clearly represented as having been officially appointed for certain tasks, and apparently as not responsible to the Persian provincial officials for the performance of these tasks. As against this Torrey has doubted whether Ezra ever existed at all, and has maintained that he is a fictitious character created by the Chronicler.[3] At the other extreme Albright holds that Ezra was himself the Chronicler.[4] I find both of these views hard to accept, and think it more likely that Ezra was a real character,

[1] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, *Litterae Orientales*, no. 49, January 1932, p. 3. On the nature of the authority with which Ezra was charged, cf. Welch, op. cit. pp. 258 ff.

[2] On this cf. Kapelrud, op. cit. pp. 27 f., and Welch, op. cit. pp. 255 ff.

[3] Cf. *Composition*, pp. 51 ff., and *A.J.S.L.* xxv (1908-9), 203 ff. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 238 ff. Similarly Hölscher, *H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., ii. 491 ff., especially 500 f.; R. Fruin, *N.T.T.* xviii (1929), 121 ff.; A. Loisy, *La religion d'Israël*, 3rd edn. (1933), pp. 228 f.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), pp. 816 ff. On this view, cf. L. W. Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (I.C.C.) (1913), pp. 51 f.; also Kapelrud, op. cit. pp. 94 ff., where the conclusion is reached that the Ezra narrative had its origin outside the Chronicler's own circle, though it received its present form within that circle. Cf. M. Vernes, *Précis d'Histoire juive* (1889), pp. 579 ff., where it was already argued, before Torrey, that the Ezra with whom we are presented by the Chronicler is a legendary person.

[4] Cf. *J.B.L.* xl (1921), 119 f., and *B.A.* ix (1946), 15. Against this, cf. the argument of Kapelrud, loc. cit. It is rejected also by R. de Vaux, in Robert's *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iv (1949), 764. I find it difficult to assign the Chronicler to so early a time as that of Ezra, and still more difficult to understand how Ezra could have been so confused about the events in which he had played a part. For on Albright's view (see below) Ezra is to be put later than Nehemiah, whereas the Chronicler places him before. It would be possible to suppose that a later hand brought confusion into the text, but it is hard to see what is then gained. For the compiler of the present work would then be later than Ezra, and it is no more satisfying to suppose that he introduced chaos into a hypothetical work than to suppose that he here worked with sources, as he is known to have done in the earlier part of his book. It is true that Albright sees no necessity to suppose that the work has been rearranged, but is satisfied to suggest that Ezra attached Nehemiah's memoirs to his work, though he knew that Nehemiah preceded him, since it would have deranged his work to put them in their true place (*J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 123). But this will hardly explain why Ezra should have represented himself as reading the Law in 444 B.C., if he knew that he had not reached Jerusalem until some years later. Whatever may have been the true relation of the work of Ezra to that of Nehemiah, it is hard to doubt that the compiler of the work thought they were contemporaries, but that Ezra arrived in Jerusalem some years earlier than Nehemiah.

who was given royal authority for his mission, and who lived earlier than the compiler of the Aramaic source,[1] while the Chronicler lived later than this compiler, and did not always understand the materials he used. That he did not simply take over the Aramaic sections as they stood, however, will become apparent as we proceed. For there are connecting links which appear quite certainly to be from his hand.

That we have not authentic documents in their original form is clear from many considerations. These documents purport to come from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Yet the Aramaic is demonstrably later than that of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine of the fifth century B.C.[2] Even the spelling of the name of Artaxerxes is different from the contemporary spelling.[3] In the book of Ezra we find two different spellings,[4] and it has been suggested that this variation in spelling is an indication

[1] Torrey held that the Aramaic source containing Ezra iv. 8-vi. 18 was written by a contemporary of the Chronicler in the third century B.C. (cf. *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 232 = *Ezra Studies*, p. 161), while Nöldeke (cf. *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), pp. 63 f.) thought it could not be earlier than the Greek period. It is more probable that it belongs to the Persian age. For in Ezra iv. 8 we find simply "the king", as compared with "the king of Persia" in the preceding verse and elsewhere in the work of the Chronicler. This is doubtless an indication that the Chronicler is using an older source here, and the source would seem to belong to a date under the Persian empire. This is a further argument against identifying Ezra with the Chronicler. That iv. 8 does not come from the same document as iv. 7 will be maintained below.

[2] Cf. my *Aramaic of the Old Testament* (1929), pp. 154, 156; also W. Baumgartner, *Z.A W.*, N.F., iv (1927), 122.

[3] This we learn from the contemporary documents of the Elephantine papyri, and elsewhere (cf. my *Darius the Mede* (1935), pp. 49 f.). In dated papyri from the reign of Artaxerxes I we find the spelling ארתחשסש (cf. AP 6 : 2, 7 : 1, 8 : 1, etc., and Brooklyn 1 : 1, 3 : 1, etc.), and once, probably by scribal error, ארתחש (Brooklyn 2 : 1). The spelling ארתחשסש is also found on another text from Egypt, which is ascribed to the same reign (so M. de Vogüé, *C.R.A.I.* (1903), pp. 273, 275, and M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii (1908), 221) and on a bilingual from Sardis first published by Littmann (*Sardis*, VI. i (1916), 23 ff.), which is dated in the reign of Artaxerxes I by Torrey (cf. *A.J.S.L.* xxxiv (1917-18), 192), but in that of Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes III by S. A. Cook (*J.H.S.* xxxvii (1917), 81).

[4] The spelling ארתחששתא is found in Ezra iv. 7 f., 11, 23; vi. 14, while ארתחשסתא stands in Ezra vii. 1, 11 f., 21; viii. 1, and in Neh. ii. 1; v. 14; xiii. 6.

that two different kings are referred to.[1] This is very improbable on all grounds,[2] and it may now be added that the evidence of new texts from Elephantine, purchased nearly sixty years ago, before the collections of papyri published earlier were known, but now first published by Professor E. G. Kraeling towards the end of 1953,[3] bring evidence that the contemporary spelling of the name of the second Artaxerxes was still the same as that of the first, and different from either of the forms found in the book of Ezra.[4] Similarly the spelling of the name of Xerxes in the book of Ezra[5] differs from that found in contemporary texts.[6] Even more important are the grammatical and orthographical differences between the Aramaic of the Papyri and that of the book of Ezra.[7] It is quite certain that we do not have here the original form of any sixth or fifth century Aramaic documents.

It has been suggested that the language has been revised and brought up to date. Torrey rejects this view, on the ground that an archaic flavour would not be fatal to the intelligibility of such documents, and would so much better suit the character of cited documents that there would be little point in eliminating it.[8] De Vaux, however, offers reasons against Torrey.[9] By the

[1] So first J. Imbert, *Muséon*, vii (1888), 223, and more recently Torrey, *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 242 = *Ezra Studies*, p. 170, and W. O. E. Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii (1932), 96 n.

[2] Cf. my *Darius the Mede*, pp. 49 f., and *The Servant of the Lord* (1951), pp. 150 f. The view has been rejected by H. M. Wiener, *J.P.O.S.* vii (1927), 150 n., and A. S. Kapelrud, op. cit. p. 19.

[3] *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri.*

[4] Kraeling offers evidence that Brooklyn 12 comes from the time of Artaxerxes II. In lines 1 and 10 we find ארתחשסש.

[5] It is spelt אחשורוש in Ezra iv. 6; so also in Dan. ix. 1, and many times in the book of Esther.

[6] In AP 2 : 1 it is spelt חשירש, and in AP 5 : 1, 64, no. 20 חשיארש. It is not found in any of the Brooklyn texts. In a tablet from Memphis (G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 71 : 3 (p. 200)) it is spelt חשיארש. The agreement of the spelling of the name of Darius with that found in the papyri from the time of Darius I and disagreement with the spelling found in those from the time of Darius II is discussed in my *Darius the Mede*, pp. 47 ff.

[7] Cf. my *Aramaic of the Old Testament*, passim.

[8] Cf. *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 234 n. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 163 n.

[9] Cf. *R.B.* xlvi (1937), 46 f.

careful comparison of passages cited from the books of Samuel and Kings in the work of the Chronicler we find that the Chronicler made free to modify what he took over, and it may be presumed that he did the same with what he took over from his Aramaic source. The compiler of the Aramaic source may have felt similarly free to modify what he recorded, so that inaccuracy of detail does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with historically worthless traditions. For instance, Ezra v. 16 states that the foundations of the Second Temple had been laid in the reign of Cyrus [1] and that the work had gone on continuously since then until the reign of Darius I, whereas the utterances of Haggai give the impression that the foundations were laid in the second year of Darius, and the prophet's reproaches would have been grossly unwarranted if the work had been going on continuously since the time of Cyrus, or if it had been begun then but thwarted by the adversaries of the Jews, as Ezra iv. 4 f. states.[2]

Granting, then, that the Chronicler did not invent these narratives and documents, and that there is historical substance in them, even though their details cannot be pressed with security, what are we to make of the chronological jumble of chapter iv? We begin with Cyrus and Darius in verse 5, and then pass through Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes to Darius in verse 24, and this second mention of Darius must, as has been already said, be Darius I. There have not been wanting writers, both ancient and modern, who have supposed that it was Darius II.[3] But this seems quite impossible.[4] For Zech. i. 12 shows that Zechariah prophesied some seventy years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and that he was contemporary with the rebuilding of

[1] Cf. Ezra iii. 10, iv. 1 ff.

[2] Cf. Browne, *Early Judaism*, pp. 44 ff.

[3] So Sulpicius Severus, 2 Chron. ix. 9, x. 1 ff. (ed. C. Halm (1866), p. 65); J. Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum*, 1629 edn., p. xlii; D. B. von Haneberg, *Geschichte der biblischen Offenbarung*, 4th edn. (1876), pp. 420 ff.; E. Havet, *Revue des deux Mondes*, xciv (1889), 799 ff.; J. Imbert, *Muséon*, vii (1888), 221 ff., 584 ff.; H. H. Howorth, *Academy*, xliii (1893), 174; Elhorst, *T.T.* xxix (1895), 93 f.

[4] Cf. G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, rev. edn., ii (1928), 193 ff.; also Van Hoonacker, *Muséon*, x (1891), 77 ff.

the Temple is clear from both the book of Ezra and the prophecies of Zechariah. Moreover, Hag. ii. 3 declares that at the time of rebuilding of the Temple there were still men surviving who had seen the first Temple. Again, Ezra ii. 2; iii. 2; iv. 1 mention Zerubbabel and Jeshua as the leaders of the returned community in the time of Cyrus, while v. 2 declares that they were still the leaders in the time of this Darius, under whom the work of rebuilding the Temple was resumed. It is therefore quite impossible to suppose that more than a century had been traversed since the time of Cyrus.[1]

Some older commentators supposed that Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, is meant by Ahasuerus, and pseudo-Smerdis, who usurped the throne on the death of Cambyses, is meant by Artaxerxes.[2] Ewald wished to alter the text to accord with this view, and believed that in pronunciation the name had been confused with one better known.[3] It is difficult to accept this view. For pseudo-Smerdis occupied the throne for but seven months of confusion, during which it is very improbable that these events can be placed, and it is not likely that the writ of pseudo-Smerdis ran in Jerusalem. To avoid this difficulty Winckler supposed that Cambyses was both the Ahasuerus and the Artaxerxes of this chapter.[4] But there is no confirmation of any of these identifications of names. Nor would all the difficulties of the chapter be resolved if it were proved to be chronologically continuous. For, as has been said, the beginning

[1] So Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentarius in Esdram, etc.*, 1740 edn., p. 13.

[2] So A. Calmet, *Commentaire littéral*, iii (1724), 296. On this view cf. F. W. Schulz, *Ezra*, English trans. by C. A. Briggs (in Lange's Commentary), vii (1876), 47 f.; A. Kuenen, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 3rd R., vii (1891), 288 f. (German trans. by K. Budde in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1894), pp. 224 f.); H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. 65 f.

[3] Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd edn., iv. (1864), 137 n. (English trans. by J. E. Carpenter, v (1880), 106 n.). Howorth, loc. cit., says "it is not history, but mere child's play, to identify him (i.e. Artaxerxes) with the pseudo-Smerdis, as Ewald and others have done".

[4] Cf. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 Reihe (1898-1900), pp. 217 f. So earlier Cornelius a Lapide, loc. cit. De Saulcy held Cambyses to be the king who interrupted the work of building. Cf. *Étude chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie* (1868), p. 27 and Table.

and end of the chapter deal with the building of the Temple, whereas the intervening verses deal with the building of the walls. There is an inner inconcinnity of subject, as well as of chronology, in the chapter. It is true that in 1 Esdras ii. 18-20 the Temple is mentioned, but this would seem to be a harmonizing touch to try to make the passage relate in some way to its context.[1] Even there the main reference of the passage is to the city walls, and the Temple is incidental and not essential, whereas in the concluding verse which indicates the effect of the intervention it is only the Temple which is mentioned, and in the verses which precede and follow the pericope iv. 6-23 in Ezra the Temple is exclusively concerned. Theis argued that in Ezra iv. 7-23 the original text dealt with the rebuilding of the Temple and emended the text to accord with this view.[2] He further argued that verse 6, in which Ahasuerus is mentioned,

[1] On the many problems which surround 1 Esdras and its relation to the Hebrew Ezra-Nehemiah, cf. Torrey, *A.J.S.L.* xxiii (1906-7), 116 ff. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 11 ff., and *The Apocryphal Literature* (1945), pp. 43 ff.; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4th edn., iii (1909), 444 ff.; H. Guthe, in E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, i (1900), i ff.; E. Bayer, *Das dritte Buch Esdras und sein Verhältnis zu den Büchern Esra-Nehemia* (1911); S. A. Cook, in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, i (1913), 1 ff.; B. Walde, *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta* (1913); S. Mowinckel, *Statholderen Nehemia* (1916), pp. 1 ff.; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (1935), pp. 133 ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of the New Testament Times* (1949), pp. 233 ff. Oesterley, loc. cit. p. 140, thinks it is not dependent on the canonical books, but is an older translation of a Hebrew-Aramaic original. Torrey, on the other hand, declares that it is "an unchanged extract from the old ('Septuagint') version of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah" (*Apoc. Literature*, p. 45), and holds that it "does not represent the original form of this portion of the Chronicler's history, but a popular revision consisting partly of interpolation and partly of rearrangement" (ibid. p. 48). R. de Vaux, *R.B.*, xlvi (1937), 51 n., says: "Dans cette discussion (i.e. of the decrees of Cyrus and Darius) nous n'utiliserons guère le pseudo-Esdras, qui jouit auprès des critiques récents d'une faveur immeritée. Il n'a pas—au moins pour les passages qui nous concernent—d'autre antécédent que le texte massorétique et il est de peu de secours pour son intelligence." It may be noted that the chronological problem is worse in 1 Esdras than in the canonical Ezra, since there the parallel to Ezra iv. 7-24 precedes the first return from the exile. For a careful study of the text of 1 Esdras in relation to the Massoretic text, cf. Johannesen, *Studier over Esras og Nehemjas Historie* (1946), pp. 23 ff.

[2] *Geschichtliche und literarkritische Fragen in Esra* 1-6 (1910), pp. 41 ff.

is a later gloss and that the Artaxerxes of the following verses is really Cyrus.[1] The chapter is thus made to be chronologically continuous. The basis of his argument is that Josephus states that Artaxerxes I was also called Cyrus.[2] Theis therefore argues that the name Cyrus could have been altered into Artaxerxes in error. This seems highly improbable since in this very narrative Ezra iv. 7-vi. 18, which Theis holds to be a single narrative by one author,[3] Cyrus is elsewhere called Cyrus. It is hard to see why anyone should have made the erroneous assumption that in the beginning of a continuous narrative Cyrus was really Artaxerxes and in the sequel the earlier Cyrus. Moreover, new difficulties would be created. For if Cyrus had first authorized the rebuilding of the Temple and had later ordered its suspension, it would be incredible that the search in the royal archives in the time of Darius would have brought the authorization to light and not the suspension, and surprising for the provincial authorities that made enquiries of the throne not to know of the suspension and to mention it. Even if the whole account were merely fiction, composed freely by the author, he could hardly have failed to notice this weakness of his story. So far as our particular problem today is concerned, it may be added that it would be left untouched by any of these hypotheses. For a cessation of the rebuilding of the walls of the city associated with incidents that preceded the rebuilding of the Temple in the reign of Darius I could hardly cause such grief to Nehemiah, when he heard of it some eighty years later.

A third way of dealing with the passage has been to suppose that the compiler purposely inserted this anticipatory account of further Samaritan hostility, to follow that in Ezra iv. 1-5, before resuming the story of the Temple. Writers who have adopted this view have either identified Ahasuerus with Xerxes I and Artaxerxes with Artaxerxes I,[4] or have found the Artaxerxes of

[1] *Geschichtliche und literarkritische Fragen in Esra* 1-6 (1910), pp. 49 ff.

[2] *Antiq.*, XI. vi. 1 (xi. 184). [3] Op. cit. p. 55.

[4] So E. Bertheau, *Esra, Nehemia und Ester* (K.e.H.), 2nd edn., revised by V. Ryssel (1887), pp. 64 f.; C. F. Keil, *Das Buch Esra* (1870), p. 444 (English trans. by S. Taylor (1879), pp. 73 f.); S. Oettli, in Oettli and Meinhold, *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen und das Buch Daniel* (1889), p. 161; A. Bertholet, *Esra und Nehemia* (K.H.C.) (1902), p. 13; and more recent commentators generally.

Ezra iv 7 to be Artaxerxes I and the king of iv. 8 ff. to be Artaxerxes II.[1] All of these writers therefore regard the present order as original. It is hard to see why the Chronicler should interrupt his account of the Temple to insert a long subsequent incident. Torrey, who has a poorer opinion of the compiler's historical knowledge,[2] thinks the present order is original, and suggests that the Chronicler's interest was in the unfolding of a dramatic story, in which the villain first triumphs and then is undone through his own lack of caution.[3] When he introduced the city walls and the question of state security the enemy was successful, but when he mentioned only the Temple he failed.[4] But this presupposes that the Chronicler thought that Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes reigned between Cyrus and Darius. For since in iv. 5 he had said that the work of the rebuilding of the Temple ceased " all the days of Cyrus, even until the reign of Darius ", and in chapters v f. records how the building was resumed in the reign of Darius, he must mean the same Darius in both cases. That he could not have supposed this to be Darius II has already been indicated. For he represents the work of rebuilding in the time of Darius to have been undertaken by the

[1] So F. Kaulen, *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 3rd edn. (1893), p. 248.

[2] Cf. *Composition*, p. 8: " There is no reason to suppose that Jewish historians and story-tellers of the Greek period were accurately informed as to the order and chronology of the Persian kings." While this is doubtless true, it does not account for the present order quite as Torrey supposes. For the Chronicler knows that Artaxerxes reigned at least thirty-two years (Neh. xiii. 6). He can scarcely be credited with supposing that Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who were leaders in the time of Cyrus (Ezra ii. 2), were still leaders in the reign of a Darius, after the reign of Ahasuerus, or Xerxes, and this long reign of Artaxerxes had intervened. If he is judged, not by accurate chronology, but by the knowledge which he reveals, it is difficult to suppose that he imagined himself to be giving a chronological sequence in Ezra iv.

[3] Cf. *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 230 f. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 159 ff.

[4] Torrey has more recently made the ingenious suggestion that the introduction of the walls of the city was a lying trick of the enemies of the Jews, according to the Chronicler's story. These enemies were incensed by the building of the Temple, but falsely represented to the king that it was the city walls which were going up (*J.A.O.S.* lxvi (1946), 1 f.). It is probable that if the Chronicler had composed the story with such a purpose, he would have made clear the falsity of the charge. For Torrey believes that the story was the free creation of the Chronicler (ibid. p. 14).

leaders who were already at the head of the community in the time of Cyrus. Though his knowledge of history was not without confusion, it is unlikely that he supposed the work of Zerubbabel to span at least four reigns.

A further way of dealing with the passage has been proposed by Klostermann[1] and Schaeder.[2] Before we examine this solution we must note some curious features of verses 7-9 of our chapter. Verse 7 reads in the Revised Version: "And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia." Verse 8 continues: "Rehum the Chancellor and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this sort". It will be observed that the writers of verse 7 are replaced by others in verse 8, and no letter of Bishlam, Mithredath and Tabeel appears to be given. Verse 9 opens with yet a third introduction, though the principal writers are here the same as in verse 8: "Then wrote Rehum the Chancellor and Shimshai the scribe." Many years ago Klostermann suggested that Bishlam is not a proper name. In the Septuagint it is rendered ἐν εἰρήνῃ, and this is a perfectly legitimate rendering of the Hebrew consonants.[3] Klostermann more plausibly rendered by "with the approval of" and took Mithredath, or Mithridates, to have been the Persian governor and not one of the signatories of the letter. This again is a perfectly legitimate rendering, and the verse then states that Tabeel and his associates wrote with the approval of Mithridates. Schaeder adopts this view and like Klostermann argues that the purpose of Tabeel's letter to Artaxerxes was not to attack the Jews, but to defend

[1] Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1896), p. 216, and *P.R.E.*, 3rd edn., v (1898), 516.

[2] Cf. *Esra der Schreiber* (1930), pp. 27 ff., and *Iranische Beiträge I* (1930), pp. 14 ff.

[3] They are so rendered by some scholars who do not follow the view of Klostermann and Schaeder on the contents of Tabeel's memorial to the throne. So, most recently, by A. Médebielle, in *La Sainte Bible*, ed. by A. Clamer, iv (1949), 299. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (1949), p. 34, suggested a different vocalization of the consonants, to yield the meaning "against Jerusalem", the signatories of the letter then being Mithridates, Tabeel, and their companions. This view is followed by A. Gelin, in *Esdras-Néhémie* (La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem) (1953), p. 39.

them. He thinks that Tabeel's letter began by quoting the earlier charges against the Jews by Rehum and Shimshai and the royal rescript supporting them against the Jews, but then went on to cite the earlier documents which stand in chapters v f., and which belong to the same letter of Tabeel's, showing how Darius had much earlier adopted a favourable attitude towards the Jews. The purpose of Tabeel's letter Schaeder thinks to have been achieved in the royal permission to rebuild the walls.[1]

This view cleverly accounts for the unchronological order of the chapters, but fails to explain why the Chronicler omitted to mention either the purpose or the effect of Tabeel's letter,[2] if it was so favourable to the Jews, or why Nehemiah, who actually built the walls, obtained permission to do so quite independently of Tabeel's supposed successful appeal, and without any reference whatever to it.[3] De Vaux points out that if Schaeder's argument could be accepted it would carry with it the authenticity of the documents quoted in these chapters, since no one would write to the king, with the approval of the local governor, citing false documents, whose falsity would be immediately discovered.[4] Damaging, however, to Schaeder's view is the consideration that the appeal to Darius's permission to build the Temple could scarcely be brought forward as a reason why the king should revise his decision against the rebuilding of the walls.[5] In the one case no security reasons were involved; in the other they were.

Yet another way of treating the section is to suppose that it is displaced, and that it has no connection with its context, having been wrongly introduced to separate verses 5 and 24,[6] either by

[1] J. Hempel, *Althebräische Literatur* (1930), p. 156, appears to follow this view, and so R. Kittel, *Geschichte*, iii, part 2, 602 f., and E. Johannesen, op. cit. pp. 164 ff.

[2] Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934), p. 595. On Schaeder's view, cf. also Sellin, *Geschichte des isr.-jüd. Volkes*, ii. 146 ff., W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (H.A.T.) (1949), pp. 37 ff., and M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I* (1943), pp. 151 ff.

[3] Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* xlvi (1937), 45, who points out that the reasons Schaeder offers (*Iranische Beiträge I*, pp. 19 f.) to account for Nehemiah's failure to mention Tabeel's letter are not convincing.

[4] Ibid. [5] So de Vaux, ibid.

[6] So already E. W. Hengstenberg, *Die Christologie des Alten Testaments*, 2nd edn., III. i (1856), 143, 209 n. (English trans. by J. Martin, iii (1858), 203, 265 n.).

the Chronicler [1] or by a later hand.[2] Eissfeldt thinks [3] the Chronicler found iv. 6-23 after iv. 24-vi. 18 in his Aramaic source, but deliberately reversed the order, while Sellin believed [4] that the Chronicler only excerpted v. 3-vi. 15 from his source, and composed iv. 5, 24, v. 1 f., and that a second Chronicler later excerpted iv. 7-23 from the Aramaic source, and found no better place to insert it than the present one. Kosters dealt more radically [5] with the section, and treated it as the pure fabrication of the Chronicler. This is highly improbable. For had it been composed by him for this context, it would scarcely have been so inappropriate to the context in substance, as well as so remarkable in its chronological sequence.

That the present position of the passage is due to a misunderstanding of its content is the most probable view, and I find little reason to doubt that the Chronicler, and not a later hand, gave it that position. Most who hold this view think that verse 24 was either composed by the Chronicler to connect iv. 6-23 with v. 1 ff., or that it was the original sequel of iv. 5. Whether iv. 5 and iv. 24 ever stood in juxtaposition may be doubted, and that view could only raise problems of the change of language at this point. The change of language at iv. 8 can be explained quite simply as due to the quoting of what purported to be an official document from an existing source, but if iv. 5 and 24 belonged originally together, the difference of language would be unaccounted for. Torrey, who formerly held iv. 24 to be the composition of the Chronicler,[6] later withdrew this,[7] while Batten also renounced this view [8] in favour of the suggestion that " then ceased the work " belongs to the pre-

[1] So Ryle, op. cit. pp. 64 ff.; C. Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* 5th edn. (1905), p. 155 (English trans. by G. H. Box (1907), p. 250); S. R. Driver, *Introduction*, 9th edn., p. 548. Bertholet, op. cit. pp. 13 f., leaves it open whether the insertion was due to the Chronicler or a later hand.

[2] So L. W. Batten, op. cit. pp. 160 ff.; T. Witton Davies, *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* (Cent. B.), p. 84; L. E. Browne, op. cit. pp. 33 ff.; Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii. 80.

[3] Cf. *Einleitung*, p. 595.

[4] Cf. ibid., 7th edn., p. 156.

[5] Cf. *Het Herstel*, pp. 72 ff. = German trans., pp. 61 ff.

[6] Cf. *Composition*, pp. 7 ff.

[7] Cf. *A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 230 f. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 159 ff.

[8] Op. cit. pp. 181 ff.

ceding narrative, and really refers to the work on the walls, while the words " in the second year of the reign of Darius the king of Persia " belong to the following narrative and should stand in v. 1,[1] the remaining words in iv. 24 having been mistakenly added when the two narratives were combined. It seems probable to me that the whole verse is from the hand of the Chronicler,[2] and that it was written both to pick up the story at the point to which he had carried it in iv. 5, and to link the story in the intervening verses with the narrative in chapters v f. Three originally distinct narratives are thus connected by this verse, to none of which singly can it belong.[3]

I think it unlikely that the Chronicler found the passage about the walls after vi. 18 in his source, since it is hard to see why in that case he should have transferred it. It seems more likely that it stood before v. 1-vi. 18 in his source, though it is impossible to speculate with any profit why it stood there, since we no longer have the source available. It has been said that iv. 24 probably did not stand in the source. Something which is now lost may have stood there between the account of the stopping of the building of the walls of the city and the story of the rebuilding of the Temple, and if we had the full source we might be in a better position to judge why a later incident was recorded before an earlier. It was perhaps the Chronicler's supposition that what stood first in his source must be placed before what stood after it which made him insert it here. He had reached in iv. 5 the reign of Darius and the point where the

[1] That a time note has fallen out of v. 1, perhaps through similarity with the closing words of iv. 24, is probable.

[2] The Chronicler's hand is most likely to be seen in " the king of Persia ".

[3] I am unable to share the common view that iv. 6-23 belong together. I can find no reason to connect verses 6 f. with the following verses, with the exception of the words " In the days of Artaxerxes ", which should probably be transferred from the beginning of verse 7 to verse 8 (so J. A. Bewer, *Der Text des Buches Ezra* (1922), p. 50), or even for supposing that they were extracted from the same source as the following verses. The text of these two verses is in some disorder, and it is likely that the names of the writers in verse 7 belonged originally to verse 6 (so Bewer, ibid.). They bear no relation to the writers of the reign of Artaxerxes mentioned in verse 8, and much more probably they were the writers of the despatch to Xerxes, whose contents are unrecorded.

account of the rebuilding of the Temple was appropriate, and then wished to include an incident which stood in his source before the account of the rebuilding of the Temple, and not knowing how to relate it correctly to his story, retained it where it was, feeling that it was better to retain so interesting an incident, and one which fitted so well with his anti-Samaritan feeling, than to jettison it because he could not understand its chronological relations.[1] It may indeed be that he was fully aware that it was out of place, but did not know its correct place in his story.[2]

While we can never know with certainty what led the Chronicler to incorporate this incident here, we may be very grateful that he has preserved this passage. If we treat it as displaced, and as recording an incident which happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, we may go on to ask what is its probable historical relation to other events recorded in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and how far it can throw any light on the background of Nehemiah's mission. This immediately raises the vexed question of the chronological relation of Ezra's mission to Nehemiah's, and of the identification of the kings under whom they lived. With this question I have dealt elsewhere at greater length than I can here,[3] and I must content myself with a brief summary of the problem and of the solutions which have been offered.

From the present arrangement of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah it would appear that Ezra preceded Nehemiah, and that they both lived in the reign of the same king. This king has been commonly identified with Artaxerxes I, and this identi-

[1] Cf. E. Reuss, *La Bible*, Ancien Testament, iv (1878), 208 n.; also T. André, in *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii (1947) (this section appeared in 1940), 375. W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Concise Bible Commentary* (1952), p. 455, says "The Chronicler is all at sea here".

[2] This is supported by Ezra vi. 14 f., where he states that the rebuilding of the Temple was completed in the reign of Darius by the authority of Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes. It may be noted that Theis (op. cit., pp. 37 f.) here conjectures that the text originally read "and unto the sixth year of Darius" instead of "Darius and Artaxerxes" (ועד שנת-שת(א) לדריוש for ודריוש וארטחשׁשתא).

[3] Cf. *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, part i (1948), 117 ff., reprinted with slight revision, in *The Servant of the Lord* (1952), pp. 131 ff.

fication is still favoured by a number of scholars of eminence.[1]

That Nehemiah lived in the reign of Artaxerxes I is now almost certain, as will be shown below, and therefore if Ezra preceded him in the same reign, this view must almost certainly be accepted.[2] We may therefore pass lightly over some older views which located them both in some other reign, such as Winckler's proposal to carry them back to the reign of Darius I,[3] and to equate that king with Artaxerxes, or a proposal which won several followers in earlier times, and which carried both Ezra and Nehemiah down to the reign of Artaxerxes II.[4] The former rests on an arbitrary and ungrounded identification which can claim no shadow of probability, while the latter is now virtually excluded by the evidence of the Elephantine papyri, to which we shall have to return briefly.[5]

[1] So R. Kittel, op. cit. iii, part 2, 567 ff., 608 ff.; Sellin, *Geschichte des isr.-jüd. Volkes*, ii. 134 ff.; Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* (1930), pp. 6 n., 10; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, p. 597; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testement* (1939), 264 ff. (2nd edn. (1949), pp. 235 ff.); H. Höpfl, *Introductio specialis in Vetus Testamentum*, 5th edn., revised by A. Miller and A. Metzinger (1946), pp. 186 ff.; E. Johannesen, op. cit. pp. 210 ff., 277 ff.; R. de Vaux, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iv (1949), 765 f.; P. Heinisch, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes*, ii (1950), 285 f. (English trans. by W. Heidt (1952), pp. 326 f.). (For further scholars who have adopted this view, see *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 135).

[2] In 1896 Torrey was in doubt whether Nehemiah lived in the reign of Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II, but was in no doubt that the Chronicler believed him to belong to the reign of Artaxerxes II (*Composition*, p. 65). Later, however, he held that the Elephantine papyri showed that Nehemiah belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I, but still maintained that the Chronicler dated him in the time of Artaxerxes II (*A.J.S.L.* xxiv (1907-8), 210 n., xxv (1908-9), 216 = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 140 n. and 249; also ibid. pp. 333 ff.). Later again Torrey reached the conclusion that Nehemiah and Ezra both actually belonged to the time of Artaxerxes II (*Second Isaiah* (1928), pp. 456 ff., and *J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 380 ff.).

[3] Cf. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 Reihe (1898-1900), 220 f.

[4] So D. B. von Haneberg, op. cit. pp. 428 ff.; F. de Saulcy, op. cit. pp. 41 ff.; H. J. Elhorst, *T.T.* xxix (1895), 93 ff.; F. Kaulen, op. cit. pp. 248 ff.; J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte* (1896), pp. 31 ff.; H. H. Howorth, *Academy*, xliii (1893), 327; H. P. Smith, op. cit. pp. 382, 395. C. Bellangé, *La Judaïsme* (1889), p. 182, assigned Ezra to the reign of Artaxerxes II and Nehemiah to that of Artaxerxes III.

[5] Its weakness had already been exposed, independently of the Elephantine papyri, by Van Hoonacker (*Muséon*, x (1891), 77 ff.) and G. A. Smith (op. cit. ii. 195 ff.—first published in 1898), and others.

All of these views maintained the relative order of Ezra and Nehemiah. In recent years, however, a growing number of scholars have believed that Nehemiah really preceded Ezra. This view, again, has taken various forms. Some have held that while both belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I, the year of the reign assigned to Ezra's journey to Jerusalem is wrong, and that he belongs to a later period in this reign.[1] In that case, it has been thought that both may have been in Jerusalem together on Nehemiah's second visit.[2]

Vernes, who held that Ezra succeeded Nehemiah, threw out in the form of a query the suggestion that while Nehemiah

[1] So Kosters, *Het Herstel*, pp. 124 ff. = German trans., pp. 103 ff.; A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia*, pp. 30 ff., and *R.G.G.*, loc. cit. pp. 636 f.; T. K. Cheyne, *E.B.* iii (1902), 3385 (cf. ii (1899), 784); R. H. Kennett, *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (ed. by H. B. Swete) (1909), pp. 123 ff., and *Old Testament Essays* (1928), p. 85; C. F. Kent, *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament*, 1926, pp. 79 f.; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (H.A.T.), 1949, pp. 65 ff. W. F. Albright has wavered between this view and that of Van Hoonacker, to be mentioned below. In 1921 and 1940 he followed Van Hoonacker (cf. *J.B.L.* xl (1921), 104 ff. and *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), p. 248), while in 1932 and 1946 he followed the view of Kosters (cf. *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932), p. 219, and *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd edn. (1946), p. 366, and *B.A.* ix (1946), 10 ff.). There is some difference of view amongst these scholars as to the precise point in the reign of Artaxerxes I to which Ezra should be transferred. In 1932 Albright transferred him to the thirty-second year, with Kosters, but in 1946 to the thirty-seventh year (a date to which Bewer, op. cit., p. 68, and *The Literature of the Old Testament* (1922), p. 281, had inclined, and which Marquart, op. cit. p. 36, had favoured, though he thought of Artaxerxes II). Albright still adhered to this view in 1950 (cf. L. Finkelstein, *The Jews: Their Culture, History and Religion*, i (1950), 53, 64—Albright's contribution is published separately under the title *The Biblical Period*). T. André, *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii. 380, puts Ezra after Nehemiah, but leaves it open whether he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-seventh or thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I, or the seventh year of Artaxerxes II. A. Gelin, op. cit. pp. 18 ff., dates the mission of Ezra between the two visits of Nehemiah. Nehemiah's first visit is assigned to the years 445-433 B.C., Ezra's mission to 427(?)-426(?) B.C., and Nehemiah's second visit to 424 B.C. Gelin earlier assigned Nehemiah's visits to these dates, but Ezra's to 428 B.C. (cf. *Lumière et Vie*, no. 7, December 1952, p. 103).

[2] S. Jellicoe (*E.T.* lix (1947-8), 54), has suggested that the Chronicler might have deliberately reversed the dates of Ezra and Nehemiah, so that Nehemiah's first visit was in 457 B.C. and his second visit in 445 B.C., twelve years later, while Ezra arrived in Jerusalem in 444 B.C. This fails to explain how the two men could independently exercise authority on the same matters at the same time, which is one of the greatest difficulties also of the traditional view.

belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I, Ezra belonged to that of Artaxerxes II.[1] A few years later Van Hoonacker presented this view in a more carefully worked out study.[2] To it he returned in more than one publication,[3] and while some of the details of his view are not accepted by more recent scholars,[4] it has found a large number of adherents in more recent years.[5]

[1] Cf. *Précis d'histoire juive* (1889), p. 582 n.

[2] Cf. *Le Muséon*, ix (1890), 151 ff., 317 ff., 389 ff. (published separately as *Néhémie et Esdras, une nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration*, 1890).

[3] Van Hoonacker's view was often attacked from its first presentation. Cf. Kuenen, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, loc. cit., pp. 273 ff. (German trans. in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 212 ff.); Kosters, *Het Herstel* (German trans. by A. Basedow); J. Nikel, *Die Wiederherstellung*; F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), pp. 215 ff. Each attack called forth a fresh defence from Van Hoonacker. Cf. *Néhémie en l'an 20 Artaxerxès I*; *Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxès II* (1892), in reply to Kuenen; *Nouvelles Études sur la restauration juive* (1896), in reply to Kosters; *R.B.* x (1901), 5 ff., 175 ff., in reply to Nikel; *R.B.* xxxii (1923), 481 ff., xxxiii (1924), 33 ff., in reply to Kugler. In addition Van Hoonacker repeated his views in *Une Communauté Judéo-araméenne à Eléphantine* (Schweich Lectures) (1915), 21 ff. Cf. also his letter to Lagrange in *R.B.* iv (1895), 186 ff.

[4] Van Hoonacker supposed that Ezra was in Jerusalem on Nehemiah's second visit, after which he went to Babylonia, returning in 397 B.C. with the book of the Law. Most who follow the general view of Van Hoonacker hold that Ezra's first appearance in Jerusalem was in 397 B.C. Cf. Albright, *J.B.L.* xl (1921), 120: "The Belgian scholar made one mistake which seriously weakened his position, suggesting that Ezra was in fact an associate of Nehemiah, but later went back to Babylonia, only returning decades later . . . , an almost inconceivable hypothesis." More recently, however, Albright is less sure on this point, and contents himself with saying: "It is not clear whether Nehemiah was in Jerusalem at the time (i.e. of Ezra's mission); he is not specifically mentioned in the Ezra Memoirs proper, and the evidence is conflicting" (in Finkelstein, *The Jews* (1950), p. 53). Some of the scholars who place Ezra after Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes I find Ezra to be in Jerusalem on Nehemiah's second visit.

[5] In *The Servant of the Lord*, pp. 133 f., I give a list of twenty-six scholars who have adopted this view, and need not repeat them here. They include Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars of widely different schools. In one point I may correct an error. The reference for T. H. Robinson should be *Companion to the Bible* (ed. by T. W. Manson) (1939), pp. 257 ff., while W. L. Wardle's name should be added to the list as the author of *Record and Revelation* (ed. by H. W. Robinson) (1938), p. 127 (which was wrongly attributed to T. H. Robinson). To my list may now be added W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Concise Bible Commentary*, pp. 452 f., H. Cazelles, *V.T.* iv (1954), 113 ff.,

Lagrange, while following Van Hoonacker in general, held that Nehemiah belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes II and Ezra to that of Artaxerxes III,[1] but later abandoned this for a closer agreement with Van Hoonacker.[2] It has been already said that it is now practically certain that Nehemiah belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I, and since Lagrange himself abandoned his earlier view, there is little need for us to linger over it. Of the other two views that which assigns Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes I and Ezra to that of Artaxerxes II seems most probable, though it must be emphasized that nothing more than probability can be claimed for it.[3] It rests on the following considerations, amongst others :

(1) Nehemiah and Ezra never appear together in the sources used by the Chronicler. It is true that there are one or two verses in our present text in which they are mentioned as contemporaries. But while these may yield valid proof that the Chronicler believed Ezra and Nehemiah to be contemporaries, they do not prove that his sources presented that view. Thus Neh. xii. 26 does not require the view that they were contemporary,[4] while in Neh. x. 1 (Heb. 2), xii. 36 there are probably

R. A. Bowman, in *The Interpreter's Bible*, iii (1954), 554, 562 f. ; also C. F. Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, i (1927 edn.), 200, S. H. Blank, *H.U.C.A.* xi (1936), 159 f., and L. Hennequin, in *S.D.B.* ii (1934), 1018 f.

[1] Cf. *R.B.* iii (1894), 583 ff., iv (1895), 193 ff.

[2] Cf. *R.B.*, n.s., v (1908), 343 ff., xi (1914), 302.

[3] I must refer the reader to my already mentioned essay for a full examination of this question. In that essay I do not consciously burke any issue in this complex question, and I avoid claiming greater certainty than the evidence warrants. On both sides greater confidence is sometimes expressed than the evidence warrants. Cf. the wise words of M. Noth (*Geschichte Israels*, 277) : "Es muss aber ausdrücklich betont werden, dass eine sichere Entscheidung nicht mehr zu fällen ist, weil es an verlässlichen und eindeutigen Argumenten fehlt, und dass höchstens eine begrenzte Wahrscheinlichkeit vorliegt." A. Bentzen (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn., ii (1952), 207 f.), does not commit himself on this question.

[4] Appeal is often made to this verse to support the view of the priority of Nehemiah. So Van Hoonacker, *R.B.* x (1901), 197 ; Batten, op. cit. p. 278 ; Browne, op. cit. p. 179 ; Albright, *J B L.* xl (1921), 121. I would attach little weight to this (cf. *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 144), but think it probable that the words "and of Ezra the priest the scribe", which are syntactically irregular, were not found in the Chronicler's source, but were added by him in accordance with his supposition that Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries.

importations into the original sources.[1] The crucial case, however, is Neh. viii. 9. This is the account of Ezra's reading of the Law in Jerusalem. It is placed after Nehemiah's arrival in the west in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes by the sudden and casual introduction of Nehemiah in the midst of the narrative, which otherwise consistently ignores him. This is doubly curious. In the first place it is curious that the man who came from the king armed with royal authority to enforce obedience to the book of the Law and to regulate religious practice in Judaea should wait thirteen years before reading the Law;[2] and in the second place it is curious that Nehemiah, who had lately come from the king with high authority should figure so slightly and so casually on so important an occasion. He is a mere passenger in the story, and his name could be omitted without the slightest loss to the story.[3] It is therefore possible that his name was included here simply because the Chronicler believed the two men to have been contemporaries, and we may be grateful to his honesty that he has so slightly touched up the story. It may be added that throughout their work Ezra and Nehemiah act quite independently of one another, and apart from these slight touches each is consistently ignored in the account of the other's work. It is sometimes supposed that the one was armed with civil authority and the other with religious, and it is therefore not surprising that they seldom figured together. This is a view which will not survive the careful examination of the account given of their work; for we find that they

[1] Cf. Torrey, *A.J.S.L.* xxv (1908-9), 309, 285 n. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 282, 260 n.; Browne, op. cit. p. 178; Albright, *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 121; Kapelrud, op. cit. p. 85; my *Servant of the Lord*, pp. 155 f.

[2] Kittel would put the reading of the Law in 458 B.C., immediately after Ezra's arrival, and long before Nehemiah appeared on the scene. Cf. *Geschichte*, iii, part 2, 589 ff. So, too, Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1935), 71 n., Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber*, p. 12, and Heinisch, *Geschichte*, p. 289 (English trans., p. 330). These scholars, therefore, agree with the view that in the original records Ezra and Nehemiah nowhere figured together. So also de Vaux, *S.D.B.* iv (1949), 765. Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, p. 828, says the whole account is unhistorical, while Mowinckel, *Ezra den Skriftlærde* (1916), p. 49, ascribes it to an eye witness.

[3] Cf. Torrey, *A.J.S.L.* xxv (1908-9), 293 n., 295 n. = *Ezra Studies*, pp. 267 n., 269 n.; Browne, op. cit. pp. 177 ff.; Hölscher, in *H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., ii (1923), 546; my *Servant of the Lord*, loc. cit.

act independently on the same questions, and neither accepted the limitation to a religious or a civil mission that this theory would impose on them.

(2) The High Priest who was contemporary with Nehemiah was Eliashib.[1] In Ezra x. 6, on the other hand, we read that, after a solemn gathering in the Temple when Ezra had reproached the people and when the priests and Scribes and all Israel had taken a solemn oath, Ezra entered the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib. Johanan was in reality the grandson of Eliashib, as we learn from Neh. xii. 11.[2] It is not said that Johanan was the High Priest, but since it is known that the grandson of Eliashib did become High Priest it is probable that this incident fell during his High Priesthood. For it is on every ground more likely that Ezra, who was acting at the time as the leader of the nation and carrying out a commission given to him by the king, should on such a public occasion repair to the High Priest's room than that he should go to that of a mere youth.

(3) That Nehemiah belongs to the time of Artaxerxes I is rendered almost certain by the evidence of the Elephantine papyri. For in 408 B.C. the Elephantine Jews appealed for influence to be exercised on their behalf on the governing authorities to authorize the rebuilding of their Temple, which had been destroyed by their enemies.[3] They addressed their appeal to Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judaea,[4] whom they informed that they had also written to Johanan the High Priest,[5] and to the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria.[6] It is clear, then, that Sanballat was still governor, but since the appeal was addressed to his sons, whereas the highest authorities were approached in Jerusalem, it would appear that the actual administration in Samaria was in the hands of Sanballat's sons, and that their father was probably advanced in years. The

[1] Cf. Neh. iii. 1.

[2] Here Jonathan stands for Johanan. Cf. Neh. xii. 22 f. The names are not, of course, to be equated but יונתן could easily be confused with יוחנן by a scribal slip.

[3] Cf. AP 30 (in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 108 ff.).

[4] AP 30 : 1. [5] AP 30 : 18. [6] AP 30 : 29.

period of his active opposition to Nehemiah would therefore fall some years before this, and hence Nehemiah belongs almost certainly to the reign of Artaxerxes I. This is the evidence to which reference has been made, which renders it virtually certain that wherever Ezra belongs Nehemiah should be assigned to the middle of the fifth century B.C., and therefore to the reign of Artaxerxes I.[1]

(4) If, then, Ezra's work belongs to the period of the High Priesthood of the grandson of Nehemiah's contemporary, it would seem probable that it belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II, and since we learn from the above-mentioned papyrus that Johanan was High Priest in 408 B.C., four years before the accession of Artaxerxes II, we have supporting evidence of the probability that his High Priesthood lasted into the reign of Artaxerxes II.[2]

[1] Josephus tells of a Sanballat who lived in the fourth century B.C., at the time of Alexander's conquest, and of the part he played in the Samaritan schism and the establishment of the temple on Mount Gerizim (*Antiquities*, XI. viii. 1 ff. (xi. 304 ff.)) Kennett thinks Josephus was a century out in his chronology, and transfers Josephus's Sanballat to the fifth century B.C. (*The Church of Israel*, pp. 64 ff.; cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 126 ff.). Torrey, on the other hand, holds that there were two Sanballats, the one being the grandson of the other, and makes Nehemiah contemporary with the latter (*J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 380 ff.). But Jaddua, who is the only High Priest of whom we have knowledge after Johanan down to the time of Alexander, appears to have succeeded Johanan directly (cf. Neh. xii. 22), and this would leave no room for the Eliashib who was the High Priest contemporary with Nehemiah (cf. Neh. iii. 1). The grandfather of Johanan, who was High Priest in 411 B.C., would have been High Priest in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and the contemporary of the Sanballat of the papyri, and since Nehemiah was the contemporary of Sanballat and Eliashib, there seems no alternative but to locate him in the fifth century. Torrey himself notes that Jaddua is represented by Josephus as an old man at the time of Alexander and rejects the suggestion of any other High Priest between Johanan and Jaddua (*J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 383; cf. *Ezra Studies*, p. 320, where he had favoured the possibility that more than one High Priest might have held office between Johanan and Jaddua), without explaining how a Nehemiah who was in Jerusalem with the grandfather of Johanan could first have come to the city long after that grandfather was dead.

[2] H. Cazelles (*V.T.* iv (1954), 132) has cleverly suggested that it was the loss of Egypt which provided the political motive behind the Persian king's sending of Ezra on his mission, and used the evidence of E. G. Kraeling's *Brooklyn Aramaic Papyri* to show that the loss of Egypt did not occur until 399 B.C. (ibid. p. 114).

Returning now to the question of the relation of the events recorded in Ezra iv to the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, we find that some who make Ezra precede Nehemiah find here the account of the check that Ezra received soon after his arrival in Jerusalem.[1] For this view there is no Biblical evidence whatever. The incident of Ezra iv. 8-23 is not connected in any way with Ezra, and it is wholly gratuitous to assume that Ezra came armed with authority from the king, but exercised it in such a way that his enemies successfully appealed to the king against him. Such a course would inevitably have led to his recall, the more so since, according to this hypothesis, Ezra had not yet begun to put into effect the provisions of the book of the Law he was authorized to carry out, but instead was engaging in unauthorized action of which the king disapproved. That there was some unofficial attempt to rebuild the walls in the reign of Artaxerxes I may well be the case; but to attribute this to Ezra is to besmirch his character without warrant or justification.

It is far more likely that the incident referred to in Ezra iv. 8-23 is something that happened immediately prior to the mission of Nehemiah. This is the view of many who hold that Ezra preceded Nehemiah, as well as of many who reverse the order of these leaders.[2] It seems to me hard to suppose that it can refer to anything that happened while Ezra was in Jerusalem.

[1] So Ryle, op. cit. p. xli; H. M. Wiener, *J.P.O.S.* vii (1927), 157; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* (1931), p. 587; J. S. Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem* (1947), pp. 25 f.; C. T. Wood, *E.T.* lix (1947-8), 53 f. Cf. also J. Fischer, *Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemiah* (1903), pp. 73 f., 83 ff.; W. M. F. Scott, *E.T.* lviii (1946-7), 264a; P. Heinisch, *Geschichte*, p. 291 (English trans., p. 332). Wiener says: "By his intemperate and inhuman insistence on his interpretation he brought upon his people the greatest disaster that had befallen them since the fall of the Temple" (loc. cit.).

[2] So Ryle, op. cit. pp. 64 ff.; Van Hoonacker, *Nouvelles Études*, pp. 161 ff.; Nikel, op. cit. pp. 152 ff.; Cornill, *Einleitung*, 5th edn., p. 155 (English trans., p. 250); Driver, *Introduction*, 9th edn., pp. 547 f.; Batten, op. cit. pp. 160 ff.; Witton Davies, op. cit. p. 84; Browne, op. cit. pp. 33, 131; Oesterley, *History*, ii. 80; Lods, *Les prophètes d'Israël* (1935), p. 340 (English trans. by S. H. Hooke (1937), p. 300); A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1953), 336. S. A. Cook would place it somewhat later, after Nehemiah's return, and thinks it is connected with the opposition which developed against Nehemiah (cf. *C.A.H.* vi (1927), 174 f.).

For his authority went beyond the ordering of the cultus, and was very similar to that exercised by Nehemiah in its range.[1] If the community of which he was the leader had indulged in activity of which the king disapproved, whether he were directly responsible for the activity or not, it is likely that attention would be paid to him, and his failure to begin the work that had been entrusted to him would have brought him into trouble. If, however, this activity took place before the mission of Nehemiah, while Ezra is to be placed long subsequently, the position is very different. The depression of Nehemiah on hearing that the walls, which had begun to go up, had been torn down again by the enemies of the Jews, would be understandable. It is true that in Ezra iv we are only told that the work of rebuilding was forcibly interrupted and not that the part that had been rebuilt was torn down, whereas the news that distressed Nehemiah was that the walls of Jerusalem had been broken down. It is not unlikely, however, that enemies who were authorized to interrupt the rebuilding by force interpreted their authority to cover the breaking down of what had been done.[2] On the other hand, the king had ordered the suspension of the work until such time as he should give permission for it to be resumed. When the favourite butler persuaded his master to entrust him with the rebuilding of the walls, when the loyalty of the servant could be relied on,[3] there was no violation of the alleged inviolability of

[1] Cf. what I have written in *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 153: "Had Ezra addressed himself exclusively to the religious side of the people's life, with which he was charged, and Nehemiah addressed himself exclusively to civil tasks, we might still have expected to find them in closer association than we do. But we find Nehemiah regulating the priesthood (Neh. vii. 64 ff., x. 32 ff.), and later regulating tithes and appointing Temple treasurers (Neh. xiii. 10 ff.), and concerning himself with the observance of the sabbath (Neh. xiii. 15 ff.). Moreover, both take action in the matter of mixed marriages. . . . The fields of their interest and activity so much overlapped, therefore, that they can hardly have exercised authority simultaneously."

[2] Cf. L. E. Browne, op. cit. p. 139; W. Rudolph, *Esra and Nehemia*, p. 44.

[3] Kennett (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 118) developed a suggestion of Cheyne's to explain the king's change of policy. This is that the Samaritans were involved in a Syrian revolt in 448 B.C., while the Jews remained loyal. This is thought to have led to the replacement of Rehum and Shimshai by Sanballat and Tobiah and the reversal of the king's distrust of the Jews. The theory assumes that the king either failed to inform Sanballat of this reversal, or

the Persian decrees, of which we read in more than one passage of the Bible,[1] and of which Diodorus Siculus also bears witness.[2]

This view seems to me to fit the case better than any other. It certainly seems preferable to Stanley Cook's suggestion that the incident of Ezra iv. 7-23 stood later in the reign of Artaxerxes I, after Nehemiah's return to the court.[3] This view would leave quite unexplained the gloom of Nehemiah preceding his first mission, on hearing the news from Jerusalem. Moreover, if Nehemiah saw the completion of the building of the walls,[4] it is hard to see how there could be a partial rebuilding so few years later, unless there had first been another unrecorded destruction of them. If there had been such a destruction, followed by another incomplete rebuilding, we are also left without any indication when the walls were completely rebuilt after Nehemiah's time.

Julian Morgenstern, who places Ezra before Nehemiah and both in the reign of Artaxerxes I,[5] has more than once indicated his view that Jerusalem suffered a major disaster early in the reign of Xerxes, about 485 B.C. This view was first adumbrated many years ago,[6] and a full development of it promised in a work then in preparation. This work has not yet been published, and

that he made a poor choice in Sanballat. In the assumed situation Sanballat would scarcely have run so directly counter to the monarch's will. It is clear that Sanballat regarded Nehemiah's mission as resting only on his personal favour with the king, and not on grounds of high policy, so that if Nehemiah were removed the mission would collapse, and a convincing story could easily justify a *fait accompli*.

[1] Cf. Dan. vi. 9 (Heb. 10); Est. i. 19; viii. 8. L. B. Paton, *Esther* (I.C.C.) (1908), p. 157, says it is extremely improbable that such a custom existed.

[2] Cf. *Diodorus Siculus*, xviii. 30: ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν τὸ γεγονὸς διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀγένητον κατασκευάσαι.

[3] Cf. *C.A.H.* vi (1927), 174.

[4] Cf. Neh. vi. 15.

[5] Cf. *A.J.S.L.* lv (1938), 56; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, x (1943), 356; *H.U.C.A.* xxii (1949), 401.

[6] In 1935 Dr. Morgenstern read a paper on this subject to the American Oriental Society. Cf. *J.A.O.S.* lv (1935), 364. The title of his paper, which has not, so far as I am aware, been published, was "What happened to Jerusalem about 485 B.C." Since then he has frequently referred to his view. Cf. *A.J.S.L.* lv (1938), 56; *H.U.C.A.* xvi (1941), 25 n., 48 n.; xix (1945-6), 494; xxi (1948), 458; xxii (1949), 380, 399; xxiii, part 1 (1950-1), 198 f.; xxiv (1952-3), 63 n.; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, loc. cit. Cf. also S. H. Blank, *H.U.C.A.* xi (1936), 172, 174, 182.

I believe it is not to be expected for some years.[1] The evidence on which it rests, therefore, is not yet available. In one of his published indications of this view he says that the Jews, or the extreme nationalists among them, made a desperate, but unsuccessful, attempt to regain political independence and to set a descendant of David on the throne. "This revolution was planned and inaugurated at the moment of the death of Darius I and the accession of Xerxes to the Persian throne in 485 B.C.E. In a few short months the revolution was completely crushed by a coalition of the little neighbouring states, with Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites in the van, and encouraged and supported by the Persians themselves. The land was overrun and the people massacred; Jerusalem was besieged and captured; its walls were destroyed and its gates burned; the Temple was sacked and burned in part; countless thousands of the people, and especially its youth, who had escaped the general massacre, were taken captive and sold as slaves in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world." [2]

Here we are faced with the question who had rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem after their destruction by Nebuchadrezzar for them to be broken down at this time.[3] For the answer to this we must await the fuller treatment which Dr. Morgenstern has promised. Meanwhile he has interpreted a number of passages of the Bible in terms of this situation early in the reign of Xerxes.[4] The disaster postulated by this view is held to have

[1] Dr. Morgenstern, in a private letter in 1953, says that the manuscript of this work, which was partly prepared some years ago, had to be set aside for other tasks, and he has not been able to return to it. Cf. *H.U.C.A.* xxiii, part 1 (1950-1) (published in 1952), 198 n.

[2] *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, loc. cit.

[3] Kennett (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 116 f.; *The Church of Israel*, p. 60) thinks the building of the walls was begun by Zerubbabel, and that it was resumed in 485 B.C. He builds this conjecture on Ezra iv. 6. and thinks the letter to Xerxes had reference to this. Cf. Morgenstern, *J.N.E.S.* ii (1943), 129.

[4] So Isa. xli. 21; xliii. 15; xliv. 6; Mic. ii. 13; iv. 7; Zeph. iii. 15; Judges viii. 22 f.; 1 Sam. viii; xii (*H.U.C.A.* xvi (1941), 42 n.); Isa. lx. B (*H.U.C.A.* xxii (1949), 399); Isa. lxiii. 7-14 and Psa. cvi (*H.U.C.A.* xxiii, part 1 (1950-1), 199); Psa. xlviii B (*H.U.C.A.* xvi (1941), 5 ff.); Psa. lxxiv (*H.U.C.A.* xix (1945-6), 494, xxiv (1952-3), 63 n.); Psa. lxxix. 1-4 (*H.U.C.A.* xxiv (1952-3), 63 n.); Ezek. xxvii A, xxviii (*H.U.C.A.* xvi (1941), 18 n.). Cf. also S. H. Blank, loc. cit. pp. 159 ff., where a number of other passages are ascribed to this date.

been comparable to that suffered in A.D. 70 and A.D. 135,[1] and to have called forth the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah,[2] which are usually attributed to a prophet of the period of the Exile.

A disaster so resounding as this would inevitably have been known to the Jews who were living in the east much earlier than the time of Ezra's mission, which Morgenstern places in 458 B.C., or the mission of Nehemiah, in 444 B.C., some forty years after it occurred. It could scarcely account for the depression of Nehemiah, therefore. Moreover, it leaves Ezra iv. 8-23 without explanation, unless there was a further attempt at rebuilding in the reign of Artaxerxes I before the mission of Nehemiah. If there were, we should have to conclude that the Jews rapidly recovered from this major disaster, and we should also be surprised that the enemies of the Jews, when they wrote to Artaxerxes, must curiously have forgotten such recent events, since they referred the king to the ancient records about Jerusalem. Nor would one have supposed that the king would need to have ancient records searched to establish the turbulent nature of Jerusalem, if there had been major trouble there in the preceding reign.

For these reasons, pending the fuller treatment which Morgenstern has promised, I prefer the view which so many scholars hold, and to which I have already referred. Had there been an abortive attempt to rebuild the walls in the reign of Artaxerxes, only a very short time before Nehemiah's mission, the depression of Nehemiah on hearing of the condition of the city would be understood.[3] But the probability that Ezra's work should be transferred to the reign of Artaxerxes II would be increased. Such an abortive attempt could scarcely be placed in the reign of Artaxerxes I prior to Ezra's mission, and if it had and had yet been followed by the evidence of the king's favour in Ezra's mission, Nehemiah would not have felt so much apprehension in seeking the king's further favour. On the other hand, it is very difficult to suppose that this abortive

[1] Cf. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, loc. cit. [2] Ibid.

[3] Kennett (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*, loc. cit. ; *The Church of Israel*, loc. cit.) thinks the abortive effort to rebuild the walls in the time of Xerxes was followed by another attempt c. 460-455 B.C., and refers Ezra iv. 8 ff. to this.

attempt to rebuild the walls had taken place after Ezra's arrival in the city, save on the already mentioned theory that Ezra had made a complete mess of things. It is curious that some of those who were most zealous to defend the chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah as it appears in the Bible are willing to do so at the cost of jettisoning the Biblical representation of the character of Ezra, and the reduction of him to the stature of an incompetent who had to be rescued by Nehemiah after his failure.[1]

Preferable to this seems the view that the work of the two men should be completely disentangled. It is improbable that the Chronicler wilfully confused the record, since the confusion does not seem to spring out of any of his preconceived ideas. It is more likely that he had but vague knowledge of the history of the Persian period, and that he wrongly identified the two kings of the same name mentioned in the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, and then did the best he could with what he found.

On this view an abortive attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem was made shortly before Nehemiah's mission, and it was therefore quite clearly known to him that he would encounter opposition to his task. The people who had successfully brought the work to an end once would certainly be watching for any mistake he might make which would give them an opportunity to make a fresh charge. This situation sufficiently explains the secrecy of Nehemiah's plans for the rebuilding,[2] and the speed with which the work was carried through.[3] He wished to lay his plans without any possibility of leakage to the enemy before their execution began, and then to let the execution be so swift that the work would be finished before they could successfully appeal to the king against it once more. They were therefore reduced to personal plots against Nehemiah, which did

[1] It is frequently supposed, by those who take this view, to whom reference has been made above, that it was Ezra's harshness and excess of his mandate which led to his undoing. Schaeder, on the contrary, attributes to him an extreme mildness and ineffectiveness of character, and presupposes a situation which Welch (*Post-exilic Judaism*, p. 257) characterizes as Gilbertian.

[2] Cf. Neh. ii. 12 ff.

[3] Cf. Neh. vi. 15. On the position of the walls built by Nehemiah, cf. L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, i (1954), 237 ff. and Plate LXI.

not wait on the cumbrous machinery of an appeal to the throne.[1]

All this taxed the resource of Nehemiah to the utmost. Speed was essential to the successful carrying out of his task; on the other hand, any sort of delaying tactics were essential to his enemies. When they failed by other means they assembled an army to march against Jerusalem to intimidate Nehemiah by the threat of an attack,[2] and to ensure that at any rate his people should be forced to look to their own defence and therefore to neglect the work of building. But Nehemiah was equal to this situation, and combined adequate defence measures and ceaseless vigilance with unflagging diligence in building.[3] His next peril was of a different kind. His builders were having to neglect their ordinary occupations, whereby they lived. Moreover, those who lived in the country had to leave their homes and farms at the mercy of the enemy, with the result that there was a double strain to provide supplies for their maintenance.[4] This led to inner tensions within the community. The rich began to exploit their power over those who were in want, and to get into their own hands the lands or the families of those who were forced to seek loans from them.[5] Here once more Nehemiah proved equal to the situation, and by mingled rebuke and appeal restored healthier relations within the community.[6]

With his return to the court and subsequent second visit to Jerusalem I cannot deal here. His anger on finding that during his absence his enemies had secured a footing in Jerusalem[7] can be easily understood. His enemy Tobiah was installed in rooms in the Temple itself,[8] and the grandson of the High

[1] Cf. Neh. vi. 2 ff. Cheyne (*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898), p. 48) thinks Nehemiah was over-suspicious of Sanballat, who may have been prepared to be genuinely friendly. We are too far from the events to be able to judge of this with confidence, in the absence of any evidence from Sanballat's side. It should, however, be remembered that an unwarranted trust in Sanballat might have been fatal to Nehemiah and his mission, and that caution was less hazardous.

[2] Cf. Neh. iv. 11 (Heb. 5).

[3] Cf. Neh. iv. 13 ff. (Heb. 7 ff.).

[4] Cf. Batten, in Hastings's *D.B.* iii (1900), 508.

[5] Neh. v. 1 ff.

[6] Neh. v. 6 ff.

[7] Neh. xiii. 8, 25, 28.

[8] Neh. xiii. 4 ff.

Priest, Eliashib, had actually married a daughter of the Sanballat who had so bitterly opposed Nehemiah.[1] With characteristic vigour Nehemiah dealt with this situation, and not only drove out his foes but took steps to prevent further mixed marriages.[2] After successfully resisting the perils from without he was not prepared to turn them into perils from within. It is easier to condemn him for narrowness and intolerance than to enter into his position and to understand the situation in which he had been placed by the opposition he had faced, when so little might have turned the scale and given him failure instead of success. That he could be fiery and quick-tempered is scarcely to be denied; but had he not been a man of such a character he would never have carried through his task. His vigour and energy were essential, and he proved the man for the hour precisely because he was that kind of man.[3] And it is when we see his task in the setting of that background of a recent abortive attempt to build the walls, ending in miserable and humiliating failure, that we can see the measure of his task and can appreciate the stature of the man who carried it through.

[1] Neh. xiii. 28. [2] Neh. xiii. 25.

[3] Cf. T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life*, pp. 44 f.: "That he was impatient and masterful, is but a way of saying that he was extremely able and knew his own ability. The times demanded such a man, and any other living Jew would probably have failed."

JOHN RUSKIN: THE FINAL YEARS

A Survey of the Ruskin Correspondence in The John Rylands Library

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I

A GROUP of most interesting letters from Ruskin to several of the friends of his later life, together with much Ruskiniana, largely concerning the foundation, running, and fate of the Guild of St. George was recently presented to the John Rylands Library by Mrs. H. D. Rawnsley of Grasmere, Westmorland. Ruskin's correspondents were Mrs. Fanny Talbot (1161),[1] her son Quartus (1163), and Miss Blanche Atkinson (1162). The letters to Miss Atkinson constitute, in their fund of opinions and in their revealing of a relationship not previously considered as important in Ruskin's life, a body of material too important for summary treatment in this survey. It is hoped that it may be possible to edit them for publication some time in the future. The letters to the Talbot family, however, though interesting, are only intermittently so. Their importance lies in the total picture they create, rather than in the details they give. Perhaps the same can be said of the correspondence between Mrs. Talbot and her fellow members of the Guild of St. George (1164 and 1166), and of the charming letters of Francesca Alexander to Mrs. Talbot (1165), many parts of which are to be found in another form in the different volumes of *Christ's Folk in the Appenines*.

It is therefore possible to survey the majority of this material in such a way as to present summarily the picture of Ruskin as

[1] References throughout are to Rylands English manuscripts. The Ruskin Correspondence comprises Eng. MSS. 1161-1166. I am indebted to the Ruskin Literary Trustees and to George Allen & Unwin Ltd. for permission to quote copyright material.

an old man which they build up for us at some length, and this is my endeavour in the present article.

II. *December* 1874—*February* 1877

We are introduced to Ruskin and Mrs. Talbot in the year 1875. Mrs. Talbot has made over a parcel of land near Barmouth to the Guild of St. George, and, as a consequence, receives the goodwill and gratitude of the Master. The note of cheerfulness and gratitude does not, however, persist. The atmosphere of depression and sickness hanging over Ruskin's head is soon perceptible. "Out of sorts and unable for my work this Xmas, and have been more like taking to my bed like Canon Kingsley than coming to begin St. George's work" (29.1.75/1161. 3). "The feeling of exhaustion is thus so complicated with quite inevitable future of sorrow or disappointment that I scarcely know how far to receive it as definite warning" (3.2.75/1161. 4). "So very ill this Spring" (20.7.75/1161. 8). This exhaustion and illness calls forth all the sympathy and advice which Mrs. Talbot has at her disposal, and results in Ruskin's writing to her many letters in which he examines his spiritual health. On 29 November 1875 he thanks her for her letter and her "most helpful warning", presumably against spiritualism, and goes on to say,

> I hear facts about Spiritualism & have seen some which gave me—and still give—the deepest anxiety to know more of the new dispensation under which we live—but the sorrow which has made that change upon me you saw—is the very strongest quarrel I have against the danger. For I know that—if she *can* come to me, she will, without my dishonouring the love I bear her by impatience or mean methods of appeal; and if any *good* angel is to be sent to me, *she* will be sent . . . I seek no more than *all* may find—if God chooses to tell me, by dream—vision—or miracle—more than I yet know—He will do it at His own time and as he sees best and according to the degree in which I now obey what light he has given me (1161. 9).

It is the possibility of the return to him, in spirit form, of Rose de la Touche, that colours many of his letters at this time. His presentation of himself as a Man of Sorrows, and his revealing of different aspects of this, somewhat "romantic", side of his nature, make the reading of many of these letters at once a moving and an embarrassing experience. Mrs. Talbot, adopting the

role of, at one time the understanding and maternal nurse, and at another the sympathetic and reverent disciple, produces from Ruskin letters in which authoritatively expressed views of the state of the Ruskinian Crusade are mingled with personal and sentimental revelations. The profound rubs shoulders with the absurd, the clear vision of spiritual values with the neurotic obsessions of a sick man. Thus we read in a letter of 21 February 1876,

> Your warning is of profound interest to me, in its further proof of some great reality in all the evil of these things. Do not be in fear for me. I have passed through too much to be in danger now. I believed the worst the evil spirits could do against her and me was done while she lived. But if they come between us again, they will get no more victory than hitherto—*My* dangers are in unbelief of—not in seeking—the other world (1161. 11).

The personal and public explorations are fused together. It appears as if Ruskin were intent upon presenting the drama of his own difficulties to the public.

> Nor do I quite see where I am being led, myself,—or I would tell you, and my other true readers, plainly. But I am sure the road is right—and that in following it, we shall more and more discern, where is the place of our rest.

Expositions of the Christian faith are frequent.

> " Che fece per viltate, etc."
>
> " Who made, because of his vileness (or cowardice), the Great Refusal." It was long supposed to have been written by Dante, of Pope Celestine V's abdication of the Popedom. But later commentators . . . saw the true meaning. It is without any doubt to my own mind—said of the young man who " went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions " (15.3.76/1161. 12).

There are already indications that the confusion between the private Rose fantasy, and the public Christianity is growing dangerous. " Rose taught herself Greek, to read her New Testament—and used to call me by St. John's name in Greek, though she never would in English " (17.4.1876/1161. 19). The power of faith is presented in slightly naive terms.

> If Christians separated themselves from unbelievers, and lived commonly honest & faithful lives they would always have the former & latter rain in his season—and as much sunshine as they liked (11.5.76/1161. 24).
>
> I am very like Habbakuk and Jonah in temper, and cry out when I'm hurt like any child—not in unreverence, but because I'm not afraid of God's being angry with me for *that* in the least (23. 5. 76/1171. 25).
>
> . . . the real government of the world—its storm, sunshine and terror or desolation, are all in relation to the soul of man (3.6.76/1161. 26).

These three passages are indicative of the position in which Ruskin found himself. Believing in his own mission to teach and to build a new Christian Community by means of the Guild of St. George, and comparing himself either directly or obliquely with biblical prophets who found themselves in direct personal contact with God, he cannot understand why he should be ill, or why he should have lost his Rose. Is the basis of his faith at fault? Doubt and guilt harass him even as he makes the strongest protestations of Faith, and teaches in letters and in published writings the true way of life, which he himself, as a living example, endeavours to practise. Perhaps the community, rather than John Ruskin, is at fault.

The question of miraculous answer to prayer lies as far as I know—at the root of all essential religious trial & difficulty—and assuredly, we are not ordered to ask for miraculous, but for our daily bread. But I believe miracles might still be wrought, if not only we ourselves deserved them but the Christian church deserved them. We all suffer for the faults and faithlessness of all (2.9.76/1161. 36).

There is, however, a feeling that Ruskin is himself a little apart from the normal ruck of humanity. He has been afflicted by "evil spirits", as a person, rather than as one of a sick community. His breadth of mind and that very profundity of thought which makes so much of his work so valuable will not allow him to see his own tragedy as anything but significant on the highest dramatic and spiritual plane. The curious mixture of, perhaps defensive, byronic arrogance and very real misery, in several letters discussing his melancholy, has a most moving effect upon the reader.

All *natural* griefs, however great, fill, but don't break hearts; whatever *you* feel of sorrow, only makes you kinder and *more* capable of affection rather than less.

But a quite horrible, unnatural sorrow (that is to say not of the kind which human nature is meant to bear, like this of the death of my mistress in madness), does, where the heart has been wholly given, break it, wholly; so that there is no true life in it any more. I have plenty of sympathy & compassion left—but no love. . . . But you can't help me with affection—if the dead live—some day, also, I shall live again—but I am as dead as they, now (27.11.76/1161. 37).

The Rose de la Touche story has been told many times, and Ruskin's own version of it, which he sends to Mrs. Talbot in his next letter, three weeks later, tells us nothing that we do not

already know from other sources. Yet it is an important document, as showing us to what extent Ruskin was able to present the affair to himself dispassionately and justly, even while another part of his mind was searching for those " supernatural " explanations and interpretations that eventually led him to confuse Rose with St. Ursula, and to suffer a serious mental breakdown.

Dear Mrs. Talbot,

I am indeed grateful for this loving & lovely letter, and will take the regard you have given me trustfully—and lean on it, to do which is when I look into my mind the worst of the difficulties is that hardness in me.—I never can believe that people really care for me, I fancy they don't know themselves and will change.—and that no love but one's mother's, or true mistress's—is to be trusted. This feeling has been chiefly fired in me by the failure of Rosie's mother to me ; she was my very dearest friend, while Rosie was young—and I loved her deeply —and went to her always for advice, and help—and amusement—and comfort—and when Rosie grew to be eighteen instead of eleven, and was brought to London to be " brought out "—I drew back out of the way quite properly and never thought of or hoped anything—But the child didn't like it, and questioned my cousin about me, and then came forward herself—and asked me " if I would stay put as we used to be for three years, and then ask her ; being ready *then* to receive yes, or no ? "

It may be a grave question whether I ought not at once to have refused and told her it was right that we should think no more of each other—with such hardness as might have made her think she could do as her parents wished without giving me much pain.

Were the time to return—I should do again just what I did—say that I was her servant in all things, always. Then she was very happy—and that went on for a while ; but I insisted that she should tell her Father—She knew that to do so would be to separate us at once—and hesitating—showed my letter to some " friend "—who told the Father,—thus everything inducing him—himself a man of the strictest honour, though hard & selfish—to think *me* treacherous, and his daughter disobedient—His morals—and much more his friends'—were alike offended—and to my utter horror—the mother failed me also—They stopped all intercourse between us at once—Rosie did not care but said—" Wait —and it will be all right."

That went on for a year and a half—Then, when the father and mother found they made no progress, and that Rosie was just as steady to me as the first day, the mother got quite furious with rage—went to Perth, where the people connected with my former wife lived—got whatever they chose to say of me under their hand,—and brought all this to Rosie. The child had never been brought into any contact with evil or evil thoughts before :—she loved and trusted her mother—distracted herself—and therefore at last me—she gave me up— : but, (not the sorrow, but) the *horror* of it—effectually broke down her life. For a year she remained silent to me—then gradually by Mrs. Cowper Temple's steady friendship and effort, (the *φίλγ* of Sesame and Lilies)—she was restored to me :—but not the same,—partly ashamed of *herself*—partly in

agony of conscience at what was now direct and resolute disobedience to her parents in holding any communication with me—and partly in fits of unconquerable doubt of *me*;—her brain gradually gave way—and one of the last scenes between us was long and vain pleading on my part that she would not send a letter to her Father full of *frantic* reproach.

We had—altogether—about three happy days together, before she died—but I had one entirely happy week at Chamonix, when she was writing me joyful letters as I was coming home to her in 1874; and stopped to see my poor old Chamonix guide and the places where I used to be with my Father & Mother:

I have never heard of or read, a story of so bitter tragedy;—the bride of Lammermuir is like it, but Rosie was a much more perfect and holy creature than Lucy Ashton.

So you see, I have not much of my old self left—but what I am, is faithfully & gratefully yours:

J. Ruskin

Venice, 15 December 1876 (1161. 38).

After this almost entirely dispassionate relation of the story, the letters relapse into triviality, day to day remarks and notes of little consequence. But it seems that in early February 1877 Mrs. Talbot must have written another letter about Ruskin's feelings concerning Rose, and his reply, dated 18 February 1877 is one of the last he wrote before the well-known mental breakdown of that year occurred. The old theme of spiritualism, of Rosie's being near in spirit, is revived again, and the confusion between her and St. Ursula becomes, for the first time in this series of letters, pitifully obvious.

. . . Do you know—you are a very inconsistent Mama, to be anxious now because you think I have no clear sense of Rosie's being near me, when you said all you could to keep me from trusting to the only evidence I had of her being so! One reason that it fails from me is that I am never quite sure how far it is right to be still dependent on selfish affection and hope. But in the Christmas teaching, it was nearly all St. Ursula and very little of Rosie—and I do wonder why she leaves me so long without sign (18.2.77/1161. 42).

A severe illness follows, and there are no more letters from Ruskin to Mrs. Talbot for two months.

III. *May* 1877—*December* 1884

In March 1877 we have the second of Ruskin's letters to Quartus Talbot, the first having been written in 1874 (1163. 1) and having been concerned only with thanking him for a gift of land to the Guild of St. George. Ruskin, still in Venice, remarks that his life "is entirely contest with every form of

things active round me—how can it be cheerful? . . . Oh me what a brute you will think me—indeed I *am* one in Italy, it drives me wild with fury to open my eyes there—and I get more irritable from continual sense of failure of my drawing power—& memory of happy old days—thirty years ago " (5.3.77/1163. 2).

Venice is always filled with sadness and nostalgia for Ruskin at this period. The Talbots' decision to join him there is met with enthusiasm. Quartus is told " It *will* be good for me to see you all here, you affectionate things " (26.3.77/1163. 3). And again a month later Ruskin writes " I am so very glad you are coming " (30.4.77/1163. 4). In May the Talbots are in Venice and the correspondence is reduced to notes concerning meetings. It is now that Ruskin begins the long series of chess games with Mrs. Talbot, that make up a great part of their later correspondence.

Little of great interest occurs in the correspondence for some months. In July, once more in Lancashire, Ruskin writes mostly about the Guild of St. George. Mrs. Talbot gives more money and is thanked. Optimism is expressed over the venture. " I wish every rock in England were as well looked after as our *Rock* will be " (17.8.77/1161. 52). In September Ruskin confesses to Mrs. Talbot that he is " Quite unfit for work yet " (5.9.77/1161. 53), and in November writes " Neither my life nor my strength allow me to do the twentieth part of what I would " (28.11.77/1161. 58).

Trouble occurs in the Ranks of St. George. Blanche Atkinson is scolded for her misdemeanours. People working for the Guild have problems which Ruskin must attend to. But in January 1878 Ruskin can write cheerfully to Quartus, " The Board of Trade are about to sanction our Guild " (1163. 7). Emotional demands are constantly being made on the ill and tired Master. The death of Quartus Talbot's wife, produces on the same day, letters to him and to his mother. To Quartus he writes

> It is very lovely of you to write to me and to feel as if I could help you. I don't know if I can ; just now, but I have every hope that you will soon have the infinite comfort of knowing that she is not gone from you, but with you still, and with all who love her, when they need her most. and that she is gone before to " prepare a place for you ", I have lived myself in such convictions—

(rather let me say, perceptions,) for these last three years, and only so have been able to live or work at all.

Yet it is true that I have not known the bitterness of the actual loss of the near & possessed love—I only changed the sense of her being far away from me on earth, for her being near me in heaven. But I am sure you will have strength given you for your need. (19. 1. 78/1163. 8).

To Mrs. Talbot he confesses " . . . nor indeed can I ever say much concerning death—it is two horrible, *without* the other world—and too trifling *with* it " (19.1.78/1161. 62).

The strain of writing on this subject, as well as the difficulties attendant upon his work on the Guild of St. George, took their toll of Ruskin, and it is not surprising to find him describing himself a little later as " sorely overstrained with emotional work " (8.2.78/1161. 64). Illness follows, once again, and on Easter Monday Mrs. Talbot is again reminded of his weakness and of his worry over the complexity of St. George's affairs (1161. 66). It appears that Mrs. Talbot suggests they should meet, but this results only in another, and more emphatic statement of the situation. " I am entirely unable to see my friends *at all* just now. I must keep quiet of all business and all emotion . . . above all, I must not be talked to or questioned about St. George, till my own time " (8.5.78/1161. 67). In June, however, the friends do meet again, for a letter to Quartus says " Very Joyful I shall be to see you with your Mother on Monday afternoon " (16.6.78/1163. 9).

The correspondence for the next two years is sparse. Notes about St. George, the decision never to leave Brantwood again, comments on the setting up of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield ; these compose the letters of the next sixteen months. And in October 1879, once again Ruskin expresses himself " sadly tired " after " a week of responsibility & extreme excitement " (1161. 72).

From this time onward the periods of ill-health increase in frequency. The letters of 1880-3 are mostly concerned with the gifts of Mrs. Talbot and others to the Guild of St. George, punctuated by casual notes on his writing activities and general state of health. Every now and again some query of Mrs. Talbot's produces an interesting passage of explanation or opinion. His views on David Cox, for instance,

David Cox is a meritorious and honest painter of very small capacity—but very vigorous in manner, which has enabled the dealers to make him a fashion—and realise many thousands in commission on drawings not actually worth more than five or ten pounds each. A good, large Cox, for people who like this kind of thing—*is* worth thirty or forty guineas—All prices above that are absurd and iniquitous—and for museums or schools his drawings are perfectly worthless —and for most part mischievous.

I have just sent thirty lovely Prout pencils to Deford to be mounted. They belong to W Prouts son—and I hope to be able to buy them—perhaps I shall come to *you* about that! (2.12.79/1161. 73.)

Ruskin spends a good deal of time in acquiring objects of interest for the Ruskin Museum and the Guild of St. George. In February 1881 he receives some rough diamonds, which interest him extremely, and which he sends to the Museum, deciding also to write a mineralogical paper (1161. 79-80). Then illness strikes again, and on 1 April in a letter thanking Mrs. Talbot for helping him with his servant problem, he writes, " the illness this time has been a very solemn thing to myself. . . . I hope my strength has not been seriously broken by it . . . and that this second warning of my danger, in certain directions of effort, will be more useful to me than the first " (1.4.81/ 1161. 82). There are only two letters surviving of those written to Mrs. Talbot during the remainder of this year, both giving descriptions of his study for which she asked.

The spring of 1882 finds Ruskin with influenza, and in the autumn one of the few sizeable letters of this year tells us he is " recovering strength gradually ", presumably after another illness. It is in this letter that he remarks, concerning difficulties over some of the Guild cottages, " I did not calculate on the interference of Sanitary Commissioners ; and in future, would much rather knock the cottages down altogether than pay for improvements under other peoples orders " (15.9.82/1161. 89). In the following spring once again he has to tell Mrs. Talbot " It is necessary to my very life that no additional excitements should be caused me ; if I broke down *now*—I could never go on again. I never *dreamed* of my friends thinking of coming—they should hold their breath with fear—and now if ever—leave me to my task " (2.5.83/1161. 100).

He is not to be left quite untroubled by requests, however, for twelve days later he writes to Mrs. Talbot again in the same

strain, this time with a touch of desperation. "You may certainly send me your drawings to look at—but not just now—Remember simply that *any* day I may go mad, or fall paralysed—without having had the least warning of my danger—and don't at present add to my work" (14.5.83/1161. 103).

He cannot, himself, however, relax his interest in people and affairs. In November and December he writes about the school run by Mrs. Bunney, and announces his intention to write a Fors on the subject of schools (1161. 105-7). In January 1884 he returns to the subject, Blanche Atkinson having apparently annoyed him by interfering in the school's running. "I am writing a Fors which you must read before thinking of this matter any more. I wrote to Blanche positively that neither *Writing nor Arithmetic* were to be taught—Please don't let her interfere any more . . ." (7.1.84/1161. 108). Later in this month Ruskin and Mrs. Talbot begin the games of postal chess which take up so much space in the remainder of their correspondence.

Perhaps at this point Ruskin's attitude towards and ability in playing chess should be described. Mrs. Talbot almost invariably won the games they played, and when she did so, Ruskin would suggest that his mistake occurred at a certain point, and they would play out the game again after that move had been altered. At one time they were playing three games simultaneously. Ruskin also felt that the game could be made more complex and exciting by adding various restrictive rules, making certain pieces only able to move in order to "take" other pieces, and altering the formation of the "line of battle". His manner of playing had more impulse than calculation about it, and his general tendency was to overlook the obvious threat in order to explore the possibilities of an almost fantastic degree of subtlety being present in the motives behind an often quite innocuous move of his opponent. He threw a good deal of his teaching fervour and imaginative energy into these games, and in 1885 and 1886 the correspondence is almost completely conducted in small notes appended to a list of chess moves. Amusing contretemps sometimes occur, when Ruskin misreads one of Mrs. Talbot's moves, or copies out half a game inaccurately. But it

does seem that this, more than perhaps any other aspect of the correspondence, gave Ruskin some relaxation, and helped him to fight the darkness that always threatened his mind. The letters are not, however, solely concerned with chess. Ruskin expresses annoyance at the press reports of one of his lectures (7.2.84/1161. 119), discusses his arranging of the minerals in the British Museum (26.3.84/1161, 125), and refers to the possibility of buying more drawings for the Guild (20.11.84/1161. 127).

Illness returns. In December 1884 he writes, " I was tempted by a deceptive feeling of strength into doing more than I was able at Oxford, and am now thrown down into a ditch of cold and misery in which I feel as if I were never to work more " (17.12.84/1161. 128).

Mrs. Talbot must have written by return, and probably, in an effort to distract his mind, introduced the subject of acting. Ruskin becomes quite animated, " Yes, I saw Wilson B. in Hamlet, and twice wrote to him begging him to change his treatment of it. But, while he has perfect power of understanding a not ungenerous Byzantine noble like Claudian, he is—and for ever will be incapable of understanding a syllable of the love or thought of Hamlet. I found he only misunderstood more and more as I told him, and had to give him up " (19.12.84/1161. 129). Two days later, he writes again, " I never saw Charles Kean in Hamlet—but can quite believe he was right and noble in it. He was a gentleman—and kept the classical traditions.

" I don't think it a finer play than many others—my favourites are the historical ones—but alas, now I scarcely read anything but French, in way of Comedy " (21.12.84/1161. 130).

In this letter also he thanks Mrs. Talbot for an offer of money. " Of course I won't accept that money. If other people won't help me, as well as you, after all you've done, I shall give up."

The letters for the remainder of the year give only details of his health, and of his loneliness at Christmas time, for, he says, he has no relations left, and is envious of the children's happiness. On 30 December (1161. 134), however, we first have news of a new project—*Praeterita*—and it appears natural in Ruskin to decide to begin his autobiography at this period. Nostalgia for

the past, and the sense of present frailty are so often expressed, and each time he tries to work with any real fervour on the Guild of St. George, he becomes tired and ill. Perhaps, one feels, only the past remains secure to him. Possibly the decision was accelerated by his thinking of the letters of Carlyle, to which Mrs. Talbot must have referred, for he writes,

> Yes—you are *so* right about Carlyle—but he had partly become wandering in his mind when he resolved to publish those letters. Froude had been forced to promise and had no choice.
>
> I finished Fors that I might have time for a business like autobiography, saying what good I know of myself and other people in a quiet way—noting my own principal known mistakes in my own business—bookwriting or the like—and leaving all domestic or personal distress to be guessed or gossiped of—by whoever likes to gossip or guess—being assured by me that it's none of their business—and that whatever they guess or say will always be wrong.
>
> Throwing together some old diaries & the like—and burning useless stuff—is not a cheerful Xmas employment. (30.12.84/1161. 134.)

IV. *January* 1885—*February* 1886

Ruskin's decision to begin his autobiography, and to destroy all " useless stuff " evoked, as we might expect, an anxious query from Mrs. Talbot. She cannot bear to think of anything of the Master's being lost or destroyed. Ruskin reassures, and no doubt delights, her, by saying that he is " only destroying what is ridiculous—or useless—Ive a good mind to send *you* some of the absurd ones—! poems and such like ! to burn or not as you see good " (1.1.85/1161. 135). The response to this letter seems to have been immediate, for on 3 January Ruskin writes again, " I really must put up a packet of nonsense for you ! I quite forgot how far you had seen through me already but cannot look for any today its so dark. I am sure I could not leave them to any one who has cared more kindly for me " (1161. 136). A few days later a packet is sent off. " Please do just as you feel or think about anything you know or wish to say—now—and hereafter about me. Just by way of a beginning of rubbish I've sent you the cover and most of the sheets of my first sketch book. 1831—when I was 12. It has some pencil scrawls at Dover and Canterbury and much MS. of my proposed Mineralogical dictionary ! I have taken out some leaves which I mean to frame & preserve referring to the book only as *given* to you so that you can do just what you like with it—

I shall find some more amusing ones soon I doubt not." (6.1.85/1161. 137.)

The St. George Guild Report of 1885 goes to the printers this month, and Ruskin tells Mrs. Talbot that he will let her help with the work in Italy if the public do not respond to his appeal for funds (14.1.85/1161. 142). Thackeray occurs as a topic later in the month, and Ruskin is, as usual, forthright.

> Thackeray's blasphemy is only deadly to those already not believing in Prayer —and is the deadlier, just because really good people don't see the venom in it."
>
> The sentence, full written, would have been,
>
> " All night, Amelia,—poor fool—, was praying for George—much good her prayers could do him !—he lying all the while with a bullet through his heart. (18.1.85/1161. 144.)

" Quarry " (Quartus) Talbot is, we learn, to do some drawings for Ruskin—probably at Mrs. Talbot's request. Ruskin says he wants " any little easily packed bit of his window studies " (24.1.85/1161. 147). There is the feeling that the jobs are rather for Quarry's than for Ruskin's benefit.

The questions and requests continue. Ruskin does not, however, lose his sense of humour. " What a lovely innocent question you ask me about the scholars I am seeking—Pretty girls, beautifully dressed and exquisitely mannered, between the ages of ten and seventeen inclusive " (30.1.85/1161. 150). There are no further references to this subject for some time. The correspondence continues with constant chess moves, and casual references to Ruskin's activities and opinions—opinions eagerly sought after by his correspondent. " I *know nothing* of this affair of Egypt . . . but *believe* the whole war to have been caused by British Shareholders " (13.2.85/1161. 157). " The Egyptian campaign is ' blockheadism ' " (15.2.85/1161. 158). Mrs. Talbot sends him £300, for which he thanks her (19.2.85/1161. 160). He tells her of his buying and then selling as too ambitious for his plans some Paros marble (21.2.85/1161. 161). He finds he is losing yet another game of chess (23.2.85/1161. 162) and once again retraces his steps (26.2.85/1161. 164). He confesses " I'm getting on with other things better than my chess, but the chess amuses me greatly " (9.3.85/1161. 170). He becomes waggish over the chess—" Ever your puzzle wuzzled

J. R." (N. D./1161. 173). "Ever your affect. and analytical, Professor" (16.3.85/1161. 174). On 22 March he tells her that he has "resigned the Oxford Professorship for evermore, on the Vivisection Vote" (1161. 178). The correspondence of this period is trivial, friendly, and, perhaps more clearly than most makes clear to us the exact nature of the relationship between Ruskin and Mrs. Talbot. There is a somewhat qualified intimacy, a gratitude on Ruskin's part for much financial help, sympathy and encouragement, and on the part of Mrs. Talbot a very real affection mingled with a quite natural determination to remain one of the Master's closest disciples, and to learn from him all that is possible of his opinions and feelings, and also perhaps to shed some glory on her son by enrolling him in the ranks of Ruskin's helpers.

A new topic of correspondence occurs in April 1885. Francesca Alexander is not only a delicate artist in prose but also in pen and ink and pencil. Mrs. Talbot is given one of her drawings.

I send you for a 'birthday' present—the introductory drawing to the Madonna & Gipsy. The three others are all given to Oxford. This I had meant to keep at Brantwood—but I rejoice that you should have it, if it pleases you. It is not so good as the three others—else I should have photographed it—but the Madonna and child are lovely. If it disappoints you, I will send you something of Francesca's perfected work—though of less interesting subject.

The work that is getting on is the new issue of Modern Painters and the finishing of Oxford lectures but every day the Autobiog goes on in the morning—two pages this size—and its coming funny, and nice. (8.4.85, 1161. 189).

Francesca's drawings are mentioned in several letters of this month, and Mrs. Talbot sends her some money, and receives a conventionally worded expression of thanks dated 22 April (1165. 1). Drawings appear to be, together with chess, the main interests of the correspondents now. Quartus Talbot, however, causes Ruskin some embarrassment.

First about that dear Quarry—of course I'll direct him and stimulate him all he likes—but I can't take more of his elaborate drawings in gift to St. G, and I'm as deep in employed draughtsmen properly paid as I can go—but I'll ask Quarry to do for me the things I want, and exhibit them—no matter who buys them, so that the things are drawn, of course old helmets are waste of time (30.4.85/1161. 210).

Send me Quarry's address and I'll give him some lovely work and lectures (3.5.85/1161. 212).

At this point Mrs. Talbot suggests that Ruskin should address her by her christian name.

Darling Mama ——F

(You know I *can't* call you that! Its too like "Aunt F"—I think Talbot is very grand and nice? but I'll think of it. . . . I wont drive Quarry out of his rest—but I hope make it happier & him (4.5.85/1161. 214).

Quarry thinks of holding an exhibition.

Please let me write to Quarry, or you write yourself at once—that I say *you* are altogether right about exhibitions They're simply Satanic things—and I'm certain I can comfort him and set him to lovely works (5.5.85/1161. 215).

Ruskin leaves for London on 7 May and intends to meet Quarry there and look at his drawings. He assures the anxious mother,

You shall know all about Quarry's work as soon as I know myself (6.5.85/1161. 216).

Quartus Talbot has not, however, entirely driven *Praeterita* from Ruskin's mind. On 10 May he tells Mrs. Talbot,

It is my Father's Birthday and Ive written a short pretty preface to the autobiography which I think he will like and am sending to press the first revise of first chapter and written besides a bit about my old Tutor Gordon which I think *he* will like.

What an odd place the next world will be, if we do remember this one in it—I hope anyhow the trees will always be in fruit and bloom at once (10.5.85/1161. 220).

Ive been correcting the first sheet of autobiography—its only the Fors pieces arranged & retouched, but its very nice—The first number will be published 1st June—and then, if alls well at any rate monthly—and soon, perhaps at first fortnightly. There are to be three vols, 12 numbers in each. The first vol is done, and I'm getting on with second steadily (13.5.85/1161. 223).

Francesca Alexander writes a letter to Mrs. Talbot on the 15th of this month, describing how she has spent the money given to her "on Edwige's poor little sister, Raffaelina" and others, and telling various anecdotes of the kind to be found in *Christ's Folk in the Apennines*. She also expresses her feelings towards Ruskin.

I do not think that anything I can say about him is of much consequence, for he has been so good to me that I can only think of him as I would of one of my own family. He has done everything for me, he has even made me feel that my very humble work is not wasted; and he is so kind to me about *everything*, that I am only afraid I shall take too much advantage of his goodness; and yet he has never seen me more than two or three times! But his kindness has changed all my life (15.5.85/1165. 2).

A few weeks later she writes again, and tells Mrs. Talbot of her working on some drawings for Ruskin. More anecdotes about Edwige and Pietro are told, and the *Roadside Songs* are referred to.

But you will read something more about her (Edwige) in the tenth number of the Roadside Songs, which is now being printed, and in which Mr. Ruskin has thought it best to put some other little stories about Edwige gathered from my letters (5.7.85/1165. 3).

In the meantime Quarry has been ill, and his anxious mother asks Ruskin for his opinion on his condition. The reply shows Ruskin yet again inclined to minimize Mrs. Talbot's rather dramatically serious view of events.

Yes, I did think Quarry showed how much suffering that illness must have caused him—but I did not think him "broken", only worn, and for some time of course, clouded and slackened in heart—The cloud will pass,—the pace quicken again (17.6.85/1161. 245).

The constant necessity of writing letters seems at this point to be tiring Ruskin, but his plea,

"Won't postcards be more grand and scientific and Chess-Professional?" (196..85/1161. 246)

results in a decided "No", so that in his next letter his "Dearest Fanny" is told,

"But what an extravagant girl you are—just fancy what a lot of half pence we might save and what good we might do". (21.6.85/1161. 247).

Nevertheless, the letters for the next three weeks are shorter than usual, and concerned mostly with chess. The fine weather keeps Ruskin in the open air. He has

"No time yet to look at the Quarry position—weather so fine—always out" (27.6.85/1161. 250).

The chess continues to be played in almost daily letters. Sometimes the tone is whimsical, sometimes seriously interested. He is attracted by another possible variation of the game (11.7.85/1161. 259). He refers to the St. George Report of that year, hopes it will be "in everybody's hands with the Praeterita of 1st August" (13.7.85/1161. 260). One of the chess moves is lost in the post (15.7.85/1161. 262). Ruskin discovers he has

once again made a mistake in his play (16.7.85/1161. 263). This minor disaster is, however, followed by a more serious one.

My mistake in Chess is easily set right: I wish I could set right as easily the hurt to my leg caused by the fall of a pile of books of which I thought nothing, but which the Doctors, professional and unprofessional, of this house declare to mean a good deal of mischief (25.7.85/1161. 264).

Illness follows, and we have no more letters for a period of six months.

V. *February* 1886—*June* 1889

The correspondence re-opens on 8 February 1886 (1161. 265) with a letter thanking Mrs. Talbot for "the lovely cheque". Inquiries after his health follow by return of post, and he replies,

I am very thankful to say I am nearly well again—up to my usual level, but last illness was the severest I ever had, and a warning when I did get well never to tire myself any more.

But I'm quite up to a little chess again (10.2.86/1161. 266).

The old relationship is taken up. Mrs. Talbot is assured that her letters are welcome, and there is some discussion of books. The next few letters reveal most clearly how assiduous a questioner and letter writer Mrs. Talbot is. Ruskin's every remark is taken notice of, is commented upon, so that the letters read almost as if they make up one side of a telephone conversation.

It is indeed a great delight to me also to be able to give you the pleasure you have in a little chat, and assuredly it is good for me to have the interest of chess to turn to when I can't work, and even French novels become flat (12.2.86/1161. 267).

You *should learn* French and read French novels (14.2.86/1161. 268).

How happy you are not to have read all Scott (16.2.86/1161. 269).

Which of Scotts have you not read? I'll look out the happy W. for you but can't today (18.2.86/1161. 270).

The chess games continue to provide another kind of continuity for the correspondence. Ruskin, perhaps conscious of his ill play, is careful to point out

"Of course we are only playing for study now—and will tell each other all mistakes" (16.2.86/1161. 269).

In spite of this mutual candour the game reaches its usual conclusion.

" You certainly do well deserve your draw—but I have always played the game carelessly " (28.2.86/1161. 277).

Other subjects also occur. Mrs. Talbot enquires about rents of the St. George cottages and is told,

Yes, by all means remit rents wherever it would be distressful—explaining that we only take it to keep their houses in repair and do what is otherwise helpful to them (24.2.86/1161. 273).

Mrs. Talbot asks Ruskin who he thinks are the greatest four singers, and Ruskin duly gives his opinions (20 and 25.2.86/1161. 271 and 274). This is followed by a question as to what is worth seeing in London at the time, as Mrs. Talbot is, presumably, thinking of going there for a few days. Obviously the continual seriousness of the correspondence has irritated and amused Ruskin, and he cannot resist being facetiously evasive. This results in another short " telephonic " series.

I should think everything in town worth going to—if I was only there!—anything that has a pretty girl in it and ends well is good enough for *me*! (27.2.86/1161. 276).

Its all as true as—the multiplication table—naughty or not—Did I ever set up for being good? If there's a pretty girl in it—with nice short petticoats—and theyre happy ever afterwards,—anything's good enough for *me*. Of course—on the ground of propriety—I do object to—or at least protest against—the modern fashion of having no petticoats at all—but if theyre really pretty without them I don't mind (1.3.86/1161. 278).

You are really very charming not to be cross with me about those girls (4.3.86/1161. 280).

We cannot tell whether or not it is one of Mrs. Talbot's letters about " pretty girls " that Ruskin shows to somebody, but he certainly does show one of her letters to a friend, and Mrs. Talbot is very cross. Ruskin, invariably candid, and unashamed, can hardly understand her annoyance.

. . . about that letter
What a fuss about nothing!
—Thinking aloud—of course you were—so am I always—neither of us need mind anybody seeing our letters—if we thought differently inside—we might (8.3.86/1161. 283).

Mrs. Talbot replies by return of post, and says how very much she likes *Praeterita*. Ruskin is gratified.

I am most thankful that you like this part of Praeterita—it is likely it should be the most useful thing Ive done, being the most thoughtful & final—but it makes me very happy that my friends enjoy it (10.3.86/1161. 284).

After this the letters are concerned almost entirely with chess for some time. Occasionally Ruskin confesses to being overtired. He reassures Mrs. Talbot concerning her questions. " Of course I don't let your questions bother me—What a life I should lead, if I did ? ! " (5.4.86/1161. 303). More chess variations are invented, and Ruskin writes confidently,

No, it certainly isn't Chess ; but its a much finer game and we shall have great honour in future days for inventing it.

There is a sadly prophetic note in this letter. Ruskin is still a very sick man.

I'm terrified every evening lest I should not sleep, and every morning lest I fall sick before sunset.
The chess amuses and relieves me—but *business*—you must do as if I were dead (21.4.86/1161. 313).

Occasional references to Christianity in the letters of the next few weeks remind us of some of the letters of 1876. But the seriousness is relieved, now and then, by whimsy and frivolity. Ruskin can no longer stand the strain of constant serious discussions. Thus he tells Mrs. Talbot that

" You will be surprised what Christianity means when I get it set down "

and signs himself, " your loving—Turk " (18.5.86/1161. 328). There is a reference to his habit of teasing in another letter of this month, in which he reassures Mrs. Talbot yet again concerning the chess.

But my dearest Fannie, did you doubt my liking to go on with chess ! ? I'm only too thankful to be able to amuse myself—and make you miserable with it ! The way the enjoyment of teasing increases on me as I get old is something wonderful (24.5.86/1161. 334).

Towards the end of this month Mrs. Talbot apparently feels that a more serious note should be introduced into the correspondence. First Quarry is suggested as a theme, and then, once again, the theatre. Ruskin, properly sympathetic about and towards Quarry, refuses to be completely serious, insists on

mentioning once again, those "pretty girls" of whom Mrs. Talbot so much disapproves.

You never told me that of Quarry's father before!—I am very deeply touched by it. Let me be all to Quarry that I can be (29.5.86/1161. 339).

I am just a lump of covetousness—and for iniquity—the difference in the way I treat pretty girls and—any others is something quite awful (30.5.86/1161. 340).

Irving is no real actor, but a man of great energy, who always means something, and imagines he is acting, so that the audience imagine it too. He is a splendid puffer and stage tricker and has got an extremely taking and pretty and cleverish girl for stage property:—He has also some original if not deep, views of Shakespeare, and really tries to do the best he knows. Of the man himself I know nothing except that he acts no characters but wicked ones well. I never saw him act entirely well but in the horridest part in all London play—the father in the Two Roses. I should like to see his Mephisto extremely, and there is no doubt of the well designed scenery.

I can't think why among our modern diabolic school—nobody writes a grand devil, like Byron's in Cain, which cant be acted because its Bible. A really sublime Devil, at Court, might bring things about more tremendous than one poor girls ruin and her brothers death. (31.5.86/1161. 341.)

Hell emerges, naturally enough, as a topic after this letter. Mrs. Talbot appears to have referred to some spiritual quality "shining through" pretty girls. Ruskin cannot resist shocking her yet again.

The warning story of the Fires is awful to me—for I shall not get off on any of your fine drawn notions of shining through. I like girls wholly for their pink shells,—and curls—and sparklings and softenings—and not a bit for anything "shining through" (1.6.86/1161. 342).

Ruskin promises to do all he can for Quarry (2.6.86/1161. 343) and later in this month is faced with Mrs. Talbot's own troubles, none of them very clear, and the task of finding a job for Quarry. The invitation to stay with Mrs. Talbot that appears to have been given is rejected on 25 June, for, Ruskin says,

I could not write Praeterita anywhere but here—because I have—it may be—to look through thirty volumes of diaries before I can write a single sentence—and not find what I want there—and think of it all the rest of the day (25.8.86/1161. 358).

We do not know how Ruskin helped, or if he did help, Mrs. Talbot, Quarry, and Quarry's wife Madeleine at this time, for after a letter of 29 June we have nothing else from Ruskin for

almost a year. Then in March 1887, he writes of the great earthquake of that year, which, it seems, Quarry has just escaped.

Indeed I am thankful for you: but so crushed and sickened by the event itself that I have scarcely been able to eat, or do anything since it happened.—all one's thoughts of the good and grace of the worlds making—buried in dust (3.3.87/1161. 362).

This is the only letter of 1887. There is only one in 1888 as well, and this is an unimportant note. In this year, however, Ruskin visits Italy again, and Francesca Alexander writes to Mrs. Talbot.

I want to tell you that I have had the great and unexpected pleasure this year of seeing our dear friend Mr. Ruskin. We were staying with our friends at Bassano, and, as we came down into Italy, they invited him also to their Villa, where he came, and stayed for more than a week. He seemed not so strong as I could have wished (though *mentally* quite well), but he liked the place, and the people; and he gained all their hearts with his kind ways. He spoke with deep sorrow and feeling of your affliction, but we did not dare to dwell upon it much, to him (1.12.88/1165. 9).

We do not know the nature of Mrs. Talbot's affliction, but we do know that Ruskin at this time was himself a very sick man. In February 1889 he recovered his health a little, however, and Francesca Alexander writes to Mrs. Talbot,

The Good Lord has been very merciful to us, and given us back our dear friend in health, when we . . . at least *I* . . . hardly hoped for it! We have had some very sad days; but the attack has been milder than former ones, and the recovery free from the period of sadness and depression which has followed other illnesses; so we may hope, I think, that better days are coming (11.2.89/1165. 11).

Mrs. Talbot asks Francesca Alexander about her first meetings with Ruskin.

When I first saw Mr. Ruskin I remember that he impressed me as of singularly pleasant and attractive appearance; and have heard many others say the same. I cannot imagine that he should make a different impression on any one! (5.4.89/1165. 12).

Mrs. Talbot's own "afflictions" increase in this year. In June her son Quartus dies. Ruskin writes a sad letter to her, sympathetic and generous as of old (11.6.89/1161. 364). A day or two later he writes again concerning Quarry's widow. After that there is silence. Ruskin again descends into the dark

places, and our only news of him in these letters is in the form of comments by Francesca Alexander.

This will be a very sad and sober Christmas for all of us, with our dear friend lying as he is! (18.12.89/1165. 13).

The last news from our dear friend is somewhat better; and I am beginning to hope a little, almost in spite of myself (31.5.90/1165. 15).

The following year he recovers sufficiently for Mrs. Talbot to visit him. Her correspondent is hopeful.

I am most thankful that he was well enough to receive your Visit, which must have been a great pleasure both to him and to you. He does seem to have recovered beyond all our hopes; and Joanie writes us that he is now much better than in the summer (6.10.91/1165. 16).

The optimism is proved unjustified. There are no more letters from Ruskin in these files; he can have written very few more in the remainder of his life, which, spent in mental darkness and sorrow, lasted so many more years.

VI. 1891-1903

The remainder of the papers in this collection are mostly concerned with the Guild of St. George and the difficulty of running it after Ruskin became incapable of attending to any of its business. One or two letters refer to an earlier period. John Bunney writes to Mrs. Talbot on 24 April 1878 (1166. 6) to ask her for a subscription in support of the plan to present Turner's Drawing of the Splugen Pass to Ruskin. There is a short and acid letter from Rawdon Brown, also to Mrs. Talbot, and a letter to Ruskin from Alex Macdonald concerned almost entirely with chess. There are also copies of all the chess games Ruskin played with Quarry at Barmouth in 1876 and at Venice in 1877. And there are copies of several of the reports of the Guild, and a copy of Blanche Atkinson's pamphlet, *Ruskin's Social Experiment at Barmouth.*

A lawyer would be required to sort out all the complexities of the Guild of St. George's business after 1890. The main occurrences are, however, clear, even to the layman. On 13 January 1891 Geo. Parker writes to Mrs. Talbot concerning the cottage at Barmouth which she gave to the Guild.

You know of course that we cannot trouble Mr. Ruskin about any business of any kind, tho' we know that he is better just lately there seems but little hope of his ever taking any part in Guild Management. We as trustees I think never had any word or mandate from him as to your cottages; whether it is better to leave such property in the hands of any minister I should have doubts as they would finally become the property of the denomination to which he happened to belong—if there were a Corporation or Board of Health at Barmouth willing to take charge it would be better—I am interested in the general question you have raised as I also made a small gift of land here to the Guild which is practically lying idle as far as furthering any idea of the masters is concerned & I sometimes ask myself what is to become of it (13.1.91/1164. 1).

Mr. Parker says he is seeing Mr. Thomson at Sheffield the following month. Having consulted Mr. Thomson, he writes again to Mrs. Talbot and tells her that the Trustees have

" no power to act in anything likely to alienate the property of the Guild " (9.2.91/1164. 3).

Mr. Thomson and he are agreed upon this, but see no reason why the Guild itself should carry out Mrs. Talbot's wishes for the future of her cottage. Mrs. Talbot does not seem completely satisfied. A solicitor's opinion is sought, and Mr. Parker writes again in August to tell Mrs. Talbot that the legal view is that the " Trustees have no power to make a sale ". The letter continues to describe the situation, and to say that the writer hears

fairly good accounts of Mr. Ruskin but he cannot be approached on any business matters. The Trustees powers are very limited so that everything connected with the Guild is at a dead lock—we took some risks at Sheffield last year and the Museum there is now a great success. My piece of land here is almost as useless as you describe the plot at Barmouth . . . nothing of importance can be done while the master lives . . . (3.8.91/1164. 4).

The Barmouth property causes a good deal of discussion, and annoyance, before the matter is finally settled by Mrs. Talbot having it conveyed back to her in 1893. Mrs. Talbot is not, however, the only member to be in difficulties. The curator of the Sheffield Museum writes to Mrs. Talbot and points out that, although the Corporation undertakes the maintenance of the building, there is no money for making new acquisitions. Would Mrs. Talbot care to help with the purchase of a picture of St. Ursula? Mrs. Talbot refuses. The episode closes with a rather cool letter from the curator.

Geo. Baker also writes to Mrs. Talbot in 1893 about some of the Guild's funds.

I notice . . . that as you do not approve of what the Trustees have done at Sheffield you retain a somewhat large balance of revenue in your own hands; this as long as the property belongs to the Guild I can hardly as Trustee consider quite satisfactory (15.8.93/1164. 6).

There is a copy of Mrs. Talbot's reply.

as to the balance you refer to—I hold it at Mr. Ruskin's request (16.8.93/1164. 19).

In 1900 the question arises as to whether or not the Guild should continue. After much argument it does so, but matters do not prosper. In December 1900 Egbert Rydings writing from St. George's Mile, Laxey, Isle of Man, tells Mrs. Talbot,

I am quite of your opinion "that—the whole concern is a total failure". . . . I have worked the Mile on the lines laid down by Mr. Ruskin when the Mile started 20 years ago and I find myself at least £200 poorer.

He points out that he is also "richer spiritually", but there is a feeling that the spiritual riches have been purchased at a somewhat exorbitant rate. He also joins with Mrs. Talbot in her opinion about Mr. Baker,

I am quite of your opinion about Mr. Baker. I believe his whole connexion from first to last with Mr. Ruskin has been for *self glorification* (10.12.1900/1164. 10).

Neither Mr. Rydings nor Mrs. Talbot can have been very pleased when it was decided the next year, after a circular demanding further discussion about the Guild's future and signed by Violet E. Wardle, Edith Hope Scott, Eveline Stapledore, Chas. C. Quayle, John E. Fowler, and others, had been sent to members, that Geo. Baker should become Master for a period of one year. There is a copy of the minutes of this, and other meetings, in the file, together with lists of the properties of the Guild, and several of the reports. But the final disintegration of the Guild as John Ruskin conceived it, need not trouble us here. Nor need we try to disengage the just from the unjust comments in the letters which we possess. It is only necessary to record the fact that like so many of his games of chess, his Guild of St. George ended in a muddle of misguided moves, and that the group of people united during the active portion of

his life by a common admiration of their Master, after his decline, split up into factions, and became both disillusioned and embittered.

Although so many new facts concerning the Guild, and concerning Ruskin's last years can be gathered from these papers in the Rylands Library, perhaps their greatest value is the total picture they present of human relationships, human comedies and tragedies, and the Decline and Fall of an absurd and magnificent Idea.

HAND-LIST OF THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS DEPOSITED IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.
KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

(*continued*)

13/3/569. Depositions in a case respecting the boundaries of Wormhill Common. 1739. 2 items.

13/3/570. Lease for 31 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to John Swinscor of Fairfeild, yeoman, of a tenement in Greenfairfeild. 17 March 1742/3.

13/3/571. Feoffment by the above Thomas Fletcher and Annis, his wife, to the above William Bagshaw of a messuage at Hill with closes and a close at *Over End* in Wormhill. 27 March 1745. With bond.

13/3/572. Lease for life by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to Thomas Fletcher of Hill in Wormhill, yeoman, of a messuage at Hill. 28 March 1745. Counterpart.

13/3/573. "Abstract of Title to a Messuage and Lands at Hill . . . belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esq[r]." 1684-1745. With duplicate.

13/3/574. Settlement before the marriage of Thomas Silvester of Harvington, co. Worc., yeoman, and Jane Shrigley of Wheston, spinster. 28 Feb. 1756. Copy.

13/3/575. Will of Mary Fox, wife of Adam Fox of Hill. 24 Sept. 1787.

13/3/576. Release by William Shrigley Fox, otherwise William Fox, to Thomas Fox respecting legacies of his mother Mary Fox. 27 March 1790.

13/3/577. Conveyance by William Shrigley Fox of Harvington, co. Worc., and Ann, his wife, by the direction of Thomas Fox of Bell-Broughton, co. Worc., farmer, to Caesar William Blake of Tideswell, gent., as trustee for the said Thomas, of a messuage and land at Hill. 17 and 18 May 1791. With final concord and counterpart.

13/3/578. Mortgage by Adam Fox of Wormhill, farmer, and Thomas his son, to Jacob Hadfield of Thornhill in Hope parish, yeoman, of a messuage and premises at Hill. 19 May 1791. With bond.

13/3/579. Schedule of title deeds to an estate at Hill owned by Thomas Fox. 28 March 1792.

13/3/580. Articles of agreement between Robert Bower of Sheffield, yeoman, and William Shore of Tideswell, innkeeper, for the purchase of a house and land at Wormhill. 1 Oct. 1792. With conditions of sale.

13/3/581. Articles of agreement between Thomas Fox of Bell Broughton, co. Worc., farmer, and Thomas Silvester of Chadderslay Corbett, co. Worc., gent., for the conveyance of a messuage at Hill with land. 13 June 1793. With release.

13/3/582. Articles of agreement between Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., and John Bagshaw of Oaks, esq., respecting a messuage, etc., at Wormhill. 20 March 1794.

13/3/583. Release and assignment by Adam Fox of Wormhill, farmer, Thomas Fox of Bell Broughton, co. Worc., farmer, and Jacob Hadfield of Wormhill, yeoman, to John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., and his trustee of a messuage and land at Hill. 15 April 1794.

13/3/584. Conveyance by Samuel Cooper of Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, co. Middx., gent., and Albany Wallis of Norfolk Street in the Strand in the City of Westminster, esq., by the direction of Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq., of Hill and Hargate Farms in Wormhill. 27 and 29 Sept. 1794.

13/3/585. Mortgage by the above John Bagshaw to James Wilde of Manchester, co. Lanc., timber merchant, of estates in Wormhill. 1 Oct. 1794. With bond.

13/3/586. Deed of covenants between the above John Bagshaw and Samuel Bagshaw for the production of title deeds. 24 Dec. 1794.

13/3/587. Abstract of the title of John Bagshaw to several mortgaged farms in Wormhill. 1574-1794.

13/3/588. "Abstract of M^r^. Edward Heathcote's Title to divers [mortgaged] hereditaments in Wormhill." 1633-1795.

13/3/589. Mortgage by Edward Heathcott of Bakewell, butcher, to Thomas Needham of High Needham, farmer, of the *Old Moor*, *Baileys Close*, closes called the *Overends* or *the Over end and North bathons Gate* and 18 sheep gates on Wormhill Moor. 2 April 1795.

13/3/590. Valuation of Hill and Hargate Wall estates. 29 April 1795.

13/3/591. "A Bill . . . for Facilitating The Division and Inclosure of Waste Lands and Commons." 7 March 1796. (Printed.)

13/3/592. "Value of M^r^. Edward Heathcote's Estate situate at Wormhill." 23 Nov. 1796.

13/3/593. Conveyance by Edward Heathcott of Bakewell, butcher, to John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., of closes called *Bailsley's Close* and *Old Moor Close*, 2 closes formerly part of an ancient pasture in the *overend* of Green Fairfield called the *near upper end* and the *far upper end*, and 18 sheep gates on Wormhill Moor. 2 and 3 Feb. 1797. With final concord and counterpart.

13/3/594. "Abstract of the Title Deeds of an Estate in Wormhill purchased by John Bagshaw Esq^r^. of M^r^. Edward Heathcote." 1631-1797.

13/3/595. Articles of agreement between John Needham of Hackney Lane in [*blank*] parish, farmer, and John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq., respecting a road at Hargate Wall. [*Blank for day and month*], 1798. Draft.

13/3/596. Conveyance by Francis Eyre, with the consent of the Commissioners for the Sale of the Land Tax, to John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., of lands at Wormhill. 29 and 30 July 1799.

13/3/597. Mortgage by John Bagshaw to George Goodwin of Saint Ann's Hotel, Buxton, innholder, of premises at Wormhill. 6 Sept. 1799. Copy.

13/3/598. Order of the Lord Chancellor respecting a petition of Francis Eyre. 20 Dec. 1799. Copy.

13/3/599. Correspondence and papers respecting an estate of Edward Heathcote at Wormhill. 1796-9. 14 items.

13/3/600. "Abstract of the Title of Francis Eyre Esq^{r}. to certain Messes., Lands [etc., in] the Townships or Hamlets of Wormhill, Fairfield, Nether end of Green Fairfield and Cowlow." n.d. [late 18th cent.]

13/3/601. Papers concerning land purchased by John Bagshaw at Wormhill. 1801. 3 items.

13/3/602. "An Act for dividing, allotting, and inclosing the Commons, Commonable Lands, and Waste Grounds, within the Liberty of Wormhill." 11 June 1803. (Printed.)

13/3/603. "Wormhill Inclosure. A Schedule of Claims." n.d. [early 19th cent.]

13/3/604. Assignment and surrender by George Goodwin to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Dronfield of an estate at Wormhill. 26 Nov. 1804.

13/3/605. Bond of the Rev. William Bagshaw to James Wilde for additional security to 13/3/585 above. 15 Dec. 1804.

13/3/606. Release and conveyance from James Wilde and the Rev. William Bagshaw to William Chambers Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., of a messuage and lands at Wormhill. 29 Dec. 1804. Copy.

13/3/607. Release by the Rev. William Bagshaw to William Chambers Bagshaw of lands at Wormhill. 29 Dec. 1804.

13/3/608. Deed to declare the uses of a fine levied by the Rev. William Bagshaw and Anne, his wife, of estates at Wormhill and Lightwood. 10 Jan. 1805. Copy.

13/3/609. Conveyance by William Wright of Wormhill, yeoman, to Philip Buckley of Greatrocks in Hope parish, butcher, of a dwelling house at Wormhill and an allotment on Tideswell Common. 24 and 25 March 1813.

13/3/610. Release by the above Philip Buckley to the Rev. William Bagshaw of a dwelling house at Wormhill. 2 May 1815.

13/3/611. Conveyance by Sir William Chambers Bagshaw of the Oakes, kt., to Lt. Gen. William Murray of Banner Cross, co. York, of land at Wormhill called *The White Stones*. 8 and 9 Nov. 1816.

13/3/612. Reconveyance by James Wilde of Lymme, co. Chester, esq., to the Rev. William Bagshaw, of estates in Wormhill. 30 and 31 Dec. 1816.

13/3/613. "Abstract of Sir Will^{m}. Chambers Bagshaw's Title [1702-1815] to a Close called *White Stones* at Wormhill." 1816.

13/3/614. Conveyance by Lt. Gen. William Murray to the Rev. William Bagshaw of a close at Wormhill called *The White Stones*. 26 and 27 March 1818.

13/3/615. Allotment of parcels of land (incl. *White Stones*) to William Bagshaw which formerly belonged to him as trustee of Wormhill Chapel. 2 Jan. 1822. Extract from the enrolment of an award.

13/3/616. Memorandum of an agreement between the Rev. William Bagshawe of Banner Cross, co. York, and William John Bagshaw of the Middle Temple, London, for the purchase of certain tithes at Wormhill. 30 Sept. 1825. Copy.

13/3/617. Papers in a case respecting Wormhill tithe. 1802-30. 20 items.

13/3/618. Faculty for the rebuilding and allotment of pews in Wormhill chapel. 19 Aug. 1836.

13/3/619. Assignment of the remainder of the term in 13/3/589 above by John Parkinson of Lincolns Inn Fields and John Wilkinson of Lincolns Inn, co. Middx., gentlemen, by the direction of the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York., to William Watson of Shirecliffe in Sheffield parish, co. York, gent., of *Old Moor*, *Bailey's Close*, closes called the *Over ends*, now called the *Overend* and *North Bathons Gate*, and 18 sheep gates on Wormhill Moor. 13 June 1837.

13/3/620. Survey of land occupied by Thomas Phillips at Wormhill. 1837.

13/3/621. Papers concerning Wormhill tithes (corn, hay, wool and lambs). 1688-1847. 120 items.

13/3/622. Miscellaneous papers respecting Wormhill. 18th-19th cent. 22 items.

13/4/1-2 co. Lancaster.

Manchester

13/4/1. "Abstract of M[r]. A[braham] Hawarth's Title to Two Messes. and Tenem[ts]. in Blakeley . . . called Nadens and Wardleworths." 1611-1724.

13/4/2. Will of John Dixon of Manchester, merchant. 23 Dec. 1796. Note of probate, 13 April 1797. Copy.

13/5/1-2 co. Leicester.

Ashby-de-la-Zouche

13/5/1. Will of James Dixon of Ashby de la Zouch, fellmonger. 27 Oct. 1805. Note of probate, 12 Sept. 1827. Copy.

Buckminster

13/5/2. Miscellaneous papers relating to Buckminster Vicarage and the Rev. William Bagshawe. 18th-19th cent. 46 items.

13/6/1-6 co. Lincoln.

Barkston School

13/6/1. Conveyance by David Burton Fowler of the Inner Temple, London, esq., to Sir Thomas Whichcote of Oswarley, bart., and Benjamin Handley of New Sleaford, esq. (executors of Michael Newton, late of Culverthorpe, esq.) of closes in Pidley parish, co. Hunt. 2 and 3 Dec. 1821.

13/6/2. Conveyance by Sir Thomas Whichcote to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York, of hereditaments in the county of Lincoln. 3 and 4 June 1833.

13/6/3. Grant by Henry Marwood Greaves of Banner Cross, co. York, esq., to the Rev. Henry Cleveland, rector of Barkstone, of a rent charge for the benefit of Barkston school. 20 Nov. 1849.

Swarby

13/6/4. "An Act for Dividing and Inclosing the Open Fields and Meadows, Common Stinted Pasture, and Waste Lands, within the Manor and Lordship of Swarby." n.d. [18th cent.] (Printed.)

GENERAL

13/6/5. "Lincolnshire: List of Persons returned as Pioneers under The Defence Act of the 43d Geo. 3d." 1803.

13/6/6. "A General Abstract or Summary of the Resources of the County of Lincoln collected from the Parochial Returns made in the Year 1803 . . . to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm."

13/7/1-3 LONDON.

LONDON

13/7/1. Will of Margaret Barber of St. Clement Danes parish, co. Middx., widow. 24 Jan. 1739. Note of probate, 27 Feb. 1799.

13/7/2. Settlement after the marriage of John Frederic Schroder of New Broad Street in the City of London, merchant, and his wife Isabella (*née* Bustard). 9 Sept. 1811.

13/7/3. Miscellaneous testamentary papers of Mrs. Ann Newton. 18th-19th century. 292 items.

13/8/1-11 CO. NOTTINGHAM.

GRINGLEY

13/8/1. Final concord between Thomas Barten, plaintiff, and John Barten, jun., and Dorothy his wife, deforciants, respecting messuages and land in Gringley, Clarebroughe, and Wellome. 15 days from Easter, 1597.

HARWORTH

13/8/2. "An Act for Dividing, Allotting, and Inclosing the Open and Common Fields [etc.] within the Township and Liberty of Harworth." 1799. (Printed.)

HESLEY

13/8/3. Settlement after the marriage of Henry Marwood Greaves of Hesley, esq., and Mary Catherine Ann (*née* Bagshaw). [*Blank for day and month*], 1833. Draft.

13/8/4. Surveys and valuations respecting Hesley. 19th cent. 4 items.

13/8/5. Schedules of deeds relating to estates in Hesley. 19th cent. 4 items.

13/8/6. Miscellaneous letters and papers concerning Hesley. 17th-19th cent. 58 items.

LIMPOLE

13/8/7. Minute of agreement respecting a conveyance of the Limpool Manor Estate. 15 Jan. 1808.

13/8/8. A particular of the Limpole estate. June 1838.

13/8/9. "Rental of Mr. Edwd. Smith's Farm at Limpool." n.d. [19th cent.].

MISTERTON

13/8/10. Final concord between John Bright, gent., William Woodhouse and William Peet, plaintiffs, and Samuel Dawson and others, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land in Misterton, Bollam, Mooregate *alias* Welham, Moorehouse, and in Clarebrough parish. Oct. of the Purification, 1712.

ORDSALL

13/8/11. Miscellaneous papers relating to the rectory of Ordsall and the Rev. Francis Foxlowe. 19th cent. 5 items.

13/9/1 CO. OXFORD.

CULHAM

13/9/1. Paper in a case respecting Culham manor. n.d. [19th cent.]

13/10/1-242 CO. YORK.

BARNOLDSWICK

13/10/1. Papers concerning the tithes of Cotes. 15th-18th cent. 4 items.

BAWTRY

13/10/2. Documents concerning the settlement before the marriage of Samuel Dawson of Bawtry, merchant, and Anne Bright, spinster (daughter of John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent.). May 1711. 5 items.

BILLINGLEY

13/10/3. Will of Mercurius Shemeld of Billingley, tanner. 28 Jan. 1701. Copy.

BRADFIELD

13/10/4. Assignment by John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., to Matthew Burdett of Denby, dry salter, of a messuage, closes and premises at Waldershelf in Bradfield chapelry. 23 March 1737/8.

BRAMLEY

13/10/5. Assignment by John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., to Joshua Wilson of Pontefract, gent., in trust for Henry Gore of Leatherhead, co. Surrey, esq., of a capital messuage called Bramley Hall, with closes and appurtenances. 6 May 1743.

BROCKHOLES

13/10/6. Settlement before the marriage of John Bright the younger of Banner Cross, gent., and Barbara Jessop, spinster, daughter of Francis Jessop, late of Broomhall, esq. 31 Jan. and 1 Feb. 1700/1.

13/10/7. Lease for 15 years by Francis Jessop of Treeton, clerk, to Stephen Thompson of Brockholes in Drax parish, yeoman, of the messuage called Brockholes in Drax parish, with closes and appurtenances. 5 Aug. 1704. With counterpart.

13/10/8. Memorandum of an agreement respecting a farm at Brockholes. 18th cent.

DODWORTH

13/10/9. Power of attorney from John Henry Barker of the Croft in Bakewell parish, co. Derby, esq., to John Barker of Bakewell, esq., and Edward Barker of Sheffield, lead merchant, to complete sales of premises in Dodworth in Silkstone parish. Nov. 1830. Draft.

EARBY

13/10/10. Conveyance by Micah Hall of Castleton, co. Derby, esq., to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Dronfield, co. Derby, of a moiety of premises and land in Earby and Thornton. 1803. Draft.

ECCLESALL BIERLOW

13/10/11. Sale by Richard Fenton of Doncastre, gent., to John Bryght of Dower, co. Derby, yeoman, and his son Anthony of a messuage in Brynclyf edge within the Lordship of Ecclesall. 8 June 1574.

13/10/12. Conveyance by Robert Creswicke of Sheiffeld, yeoman, to John Bryght of Hurlowe, yeoman, of 2 closes in Whytley Wood. 6 March 1577.

13/10/13. Conveyance by Edward Hall of Whitlaie Wodde, webster, to Henry Brighte of the same, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Whitlaye Wood and 2 closes. 23 Nov. 1583.

13/10/14. Bond of John Holland, sen., of Dovehouse in Sheffield parish, yeoman, and his son John Holland, jun., tanner, to William Shawe of Hallbroom in Bradfield chapel, yeoman, for the performance of covenants. 24 March 1617/18. With duplicate.

13/10/15. Final concord between William Shawe, plaintiff, and John Holland, sen., and John Holland, jun., deforciants, respecting land in Ecclesall and Sheffeild. Oct. of Mich., 1619.

13/10/16. Bond of John Dale of Sheffield, mercer, to Thomas Dale, sen., of Whiteley Wood, yeoman, his father, respecting a lease of a close at Bentihaugh in Ecclesall Lordship. 25 Jan. 1619/20.

13/10/17. Sale by John Holland the elder of Button hill in Sheffield parish, yeoman, and John Holland the younger of Stumperlowe in the same, tanner, to Thomas Bright of Ecclesall Hall, yeoman, of 3 closes in Ecclesall lordship. 9 Feb. 1622. With bond.

13/10/18. Final concord between Thomas Bright and George Ludlam, plaintiffs, and John Holland, sen., and John Holland, jun., and Anne, his wife, deforciants, respecting land with appurtenances in Graystones, Ecclesall and Sheffield. Oct. of Mich., 1622.

13/10/19. Conveyance by Gervase Lee of Bentihaugh, yeoman, and Dennis Lee, cutler, to Richard Shemeld of Sheffeld, ironmonger, of 2 closes at Whiteley Wood. 6 Jan. 1623.

13/10/20. Bond of John Machon, sen., of Longdon, co. Staff., clerk, and his son John Machon, jun., to John Bright of Brendcliff Edge, yeoman, for performance of covenants. 10 March 1623/4.

13/10/21. Sale by the above John Holland the elder and Emma, his wife, and the above John Holland the younger and Anne, his wife, to William Creswick the younger of Sheffeld, cutler, of a close called *Parke Medowe* in Ecclesall lordship. 29 Nov. 1624.

13/10/22. Sale by the above John Holland the elder and Emma, his wife, and John Holland the younger and Anne, his wife, to Thomas Bright of Ecclesall Hall, yeoman, of closes within the Lordship of Ecclesall. 23 March 1625.

13/10/23. Conveyance by George Gill of Haselhyrst in Norton parish, co. Derby, gent., to Thomas Burton of Cartledge in Dronfield parish, co. Derby, gent., of a messuage, a cottage and closes at Whiteley Wood in the manor or lordship of Ecclesall. 16 Oct. 1627.

13/10/24. Inquisition concerning Thomas Burton of Cartlidge, esq., George Gill of Haslehirst, gent., and a messuage and land in Whiteley Wood. 23 April 1629.

13/10/25. Conveyance by Richard Shemeld of Sheffeld, ironmonger, to Thomas Bright of Graystones, yeoman, of 2 closes at Whiteley Wood. 12 March 1630.

13/10/26. Indenture of covenants between John Bright of Brendcliff Edge and Elizabeth, his wife, of the one part, and Thomas Burton of Cartledge in Dronfeld parish, co. Derby, esq., and John Rewell of Arksey, gent., of the other part, declaring the uses of a fine respecting a messuage and closes at Brendcliff Edge. 10 July 1632. Copy.

13/10/27. Grant in Chancery respecting Thomas Bright of Graystons and Richard Dale. 3 March 1641.

13/10/28. Conveyance by John Bright of Carbrooke in Sheffield parish, gent., to Anthony Fox of Bewcheife, co. Derby, woodcutter, of closes and a cottage in Over Whiteley Wood in the lordship of Ecclesall. 16 April 1649. With bond.

13/10/29. Inquisition respecting Anthony Foxe of Bewcheife, co. Derby, woodcutter, John Bright and a messuage and land in the manor of Ecclesall. 15 Oct. 1649.

13/10/30. Final concord between Stephen Bright and Anthony Fox, plaintiffs, and John Bright, esq., and Catherine, his wife, respecting 2 cottages and land with appurtenances in Over Whiteley Wood, Nether Whiteley Wood, Ecclesall and Sheffield. 4 weeks from Mich., 1650.

13/10/31. Deed of revocation by Thomas Bright of Graystones in Sheffeld parish, yeoman, respecting a conveyance to James Bright and John Dale of messuages, etc., at Graystones, Bentihaugh and Whiteley Wood, and Borlees in Hathersedge parish, co. Derby. 6 June 1654.

13/10/32. Sale by Michael Burton of Cartledge in Dronfeld parish, co. Derby, gent., to William Stones of Over Whiteley Wood, clerk, of a messuage in Over Whiteley Wood. 4 April 1661. With bond.

13/10/33. Mortgage by William Stones of Over Whiteley Wood, clerk, to George Wild of Haw Car, yeoman, of a messuage in Over Whiteley Wood with appurtenances. 17 Feb. 1662. With counterpart.

13/10/34. Conveyance by Anthony Fox the elder of Beauchiffe, co. Derby, wood collier, to Adam Fox of Ecclesall, cutler, of a messuage and land in the territories of a hamlet called Upper Whiteley Wood. 5 July 1662.

13/10/35. Release by William Stones of Rockley Hall in Darfeld parish, clerk, to George Wild of Hallcarr, cutler, respecting a sale of a messuage with appurtenances at Over Whiteley Wood. 24 Feb. 1664. With counterpart.

13/10/36. Indenture of defeasance respecting the same. 25 Feb. 1664. With counterpart.

13/10/37. Final concord between Alice Newbold, Henry Bright and Thomas Bright, plaintiffs, and John Hudson and his wife Ann, and William Unwin and his wife Mary, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land in Agden, Bradfeild, and Ecclesall. Quind. of Easter, 1664.

13 10 38. Release by William Stones of Rockley Hall, clerk, to George Wilde of the Hallcarre, yeoman, of a messuage in Overwhiteley wood with appurtenances. 7 June 1664.

13 10 39. Final concord between George Wyld, plaintiff, and William Spencer, esq., and William Spencer, gent., William Stones, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, Thomas Armitage and Rosamund, his wife, and Catherine Armitage, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages and land with appurtenances in Over Whiteley Wood, Ecclesall, Darnell and Upperhaugh. Quind. of Easter, 1665.

13 10 40. Inquisition respecting a messuage in Over Whiteley Wood, George Wilde of Hall Carr, cutler, and William Stones, clerk. 2 Oct. 1665.

13 10 41. Admission of Anthony Foxe to a cottage and land at Upper Whiteley Wood. 30 Sept. 1672. (Extract from proceedings at the Court Leet and Great Court Baron of Ecclesall.)

13 10 42. Bond of Stephen Bright of Brencliffe Edge, yeoman, and Sylvanus Bright of the same, cutler, to Thomas Bright of Graystones, gent., for performance of covenants. 9 Sept. 1680.

13 10 43. Sale by John Bright of Brincliffe Edge, yeoman, to Silvanus Bright of Cheritreehill in Sheffield parish, cutler, of a messuage with appurtenances at Brincliffe Edge. 27 Oct. 1680.

13 10 44. Will of John Bright of Bannercrosse, yeoman. 21 Dec. 1680. Probate, 4 Feb. 1686.

13 10 45. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Bright of Graystones, gent., and Elizabeth, his wife, of the one part, and John Pearson, sen., of Sheffield, butcher, and Thomas Wilson of the same, cutler, of the other part, declaring the uses of a fine respecting premises and land in Ecclesall. 29 Sept. 1682.

13 10 46. Sale by Thomas Bright of Graystones in Sheffield parish, gent., to John Stones of Little Sheffield, yeoman, and Elizabeth, his wife, of enclosures at Upper Whitleywood. 5 and 6 Feb. 1682 3.

13 10 47. Lease for 21 years by Anthony Fox of Ecclesall, husbandman, to Robert Jeffcock of Whiteleywood, coalminer, of a messuage and 2 closes at Over Whiteleywood. 4 Aug. 1683.

13 10 48. Mortgage by Thomas Firth of Carterknowle within Ecclesall Bierlow, yeoman, to George Lee of *Cornewell* in the City of London, linen draper, of a close at Carterknowle. 28 April 1685. With duplicate and bond.

13 10 49. Conveyance by Obedia Barlow of Sheffeild, cutler, to Mathew Youle of the same, maltster, of a messuage and a close at Bentihough in Ecclesall lordship. 2 and 3 Aug. 1686.

13 10 50. Final concord between George Wilde and John Saunderson, plaintiffs, and William Stone, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, and others, deforciants, respecting 5 messuages, premises and land in Sheffeild, Ecclesall, Bradfield and Grimesthorpe. Oct. of Purification, 1686.

13 10 51. Sale by Robert Ashton of Whitlewood, gent., to Richard Youle of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, and Thomas Bright of the Edge in Sheffield parish, gentlemen, of 4 cottages at Whiteleywood. 13 Jan. 1687 8.

13 10 52. Declaration respecting the same. 13 Jan. 1687 8.

13 10 53. Release by Robert Ashton, Thomas Bright and Richard Youle to John Bright of Banner Cross, leadmerchant, of cottages at Whitley Wood lately purchased from the said Robert Ashton and Mary, his wife. 30 Oct. 1688.

13/10/54. Sale by John Stones of Littlesheffeild, yeoman, to George Wilde of Hall Carr, yeoman, of 2 closes at Upper Whitewood [*sic*]. 28 and 29 Aug. 1689. With final concord.

13/10/55. Sale by John Youle of Sheffeild, cutler, to John Bright of Banner Crosse in Sheffeild parish, gent., of a messuage at Bentihaugh. 7 Sept. 1689.

13/10/56. Inquisition presenting that George Wild of Hall Carr has lately purchased 2 closes at Upper Whiteley Wood. 30 Sept. 1689.

13/10/57. Inquisition declaring that George Wilde died seized of a messuage and land at Upper Whiteley Wood. 21 April 1690.

13/10/58. Indenture of covenants between William Stones of Button Hill within Ecclesall, clerk, and Thomas Handley of Hall Carr, yeoman, declaring the uses of a fine of a messuage with appurtenances at Over Whitlewood. 6 June 1690.

13/10/59. Sale by Anthony Fox of Milward Farm in Sheffeild parish, yeoman, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Thomas Handley of Hall Carr, yeoman, of a messuage at Upper Whitelewood with appurtenances. 23 Dec. 1690.

13/10/60. Articles of agreement between John Bright of Dranfeild, gent., and Thomas Bright of Edge in Sheffeild parish, gent., respecting a conveyance to the latter of the messuage called *Bruntcliffe Edge*. 19 Jan. 1693/4. With bond and receipts.

13/10/61. Indenture of convenants between the same declaring the uses of a fine respecting the same. 1 May 1695.

13/10/62. Final concord between Joseph Banks, gent., plaintiff, and John Hawksworth, William Jessop, and others, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages, premises and land in Brancliffe, Anston, Nether Denby, Ecclesall and Barnsley. Morrow of Trin., 1695.

13/10/63. Will of Thomas Bright of Brincliffe Edge in Sheffield parish, gent. 18 May 1696. Probate, 12 Dec.

13/10/64. Inquisition respecting premises and land left by the late Thomas Bright. 7 April 1697. (Extract from proceedings at the View of Frankpledge with Great Court Baron of Ecclesall manor.)

13/10/65. Inquisition presenting that Thomas Bright, gent., died seized of messuages and lands at Whitely Wood. 7 April 1697.

13/10/66. Conveyance by Thomas Firth of Dalton in Kirkeheaton parish, yeoman, and his brother Robert to John Bright of Banner Crosse in Ecclesall, gent., of 2 messuages at Carter Knowle in Ecclesall. 9 and 10 April 1700.

13/10/67. Settlement before the marriage of John Bright the younger of Banner Cross, gent., and Barbara Jessop. 1 Feb. 1700/1.

13/10/68. Conveyance by Robert Firth of the Chapelry of Bradfeild, cordwainer, to John Bright, jun., of Sheffeild, gent., of all his right in a cottage and 3 closes at Carter Knowle in Ecclesal. 4 Jan. 1706/7.

13/10/69. Final concord between John Bright, sen., gent., and Christopher Stacey, plaintiffs, and Thomas Bright, gent., Robert Firth, and others, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages and land in Ecclesall and Brightside Byerlow in Sheffield parish. Oct. of Purification, 1707.

13/10/70. Lease for 11 years by John Bright, jun., of Banner Cross, gent., to Joseph Lord of Dobin Hill, husbandman, of a messuage and closes at Dobin Hill. 13 Oct. 1709.

13/10/71. Similar lease to Rebecca Arther of Sheffeild, widow, of 2 closes in Ecclesall near Little Shefeild Moor. 2 March 1710/11.

13/10/72. Feoffment by Joseph Bright of Brincliffe Edge, gent., to John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent., of closes called *the Beets* in Ecclesall. 20 May 1714. With extract from Ecclesall court proceedings relating to the same.

13/10/73. Conveyance by Richard Carr of Crookesmoor in Sheffield parish, file cutter, and Barbara, his wife, to John Bright of Banner Cross, gent., of a messuage and 4 closes at Whiteley Wood in Ecclesall. 7 and 8 Jan. 1716/17.

13/10/74. Final concord between John Bright, gent., plaintiff, and Richard Carr and Barbara, his wife, and William Frith and Sarah, his wife, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages and land with appurtenances in Ecclesall, Gleadleye and Hansworth parish. Oct. of Purification, 1717.

13/10/75. Presentment respecting the above conveyance [13/10/73]. 24 April 1717. (Extract from proceedings at the View of Frank Pledge with Great Court Baron of Ecclesall manor.)

13/10/76. Settlement before the marriage of James Bright of Ecclesall, gent., and Judith Fenton, spinster. 16 Sept. 1718.

13/10/77. Conveyance by Thomas Handley, gent., to Charles Sanderson of the Middle Temple, London, gent., of a messuage and closes at Upper Whiteley Wood. 9 and 10 April 1719.

13/10/78. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Battie, gent., against Charles Sanderson, gent., respecting 3 messuages and land with appurtenances in Ecclesall and Sheffield parish. 17 June 1719.

13/10/79. Conveyance by Thomas Handley to John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent., of a messuage and closes at Upper Whiteley Wood. 13 and 14 July 1719.

13/10/80. Pedigree of the Oates family. n.d. [c. 1719].

13/10/81. Indenture of covenants between Richard Dalton of Sheffield, raff merchant, and Mary, his wife (daughter and heir of John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent.), of the one part, and John Battie of Sheffield, gent., of the other part, for the conveyance of premises and land at Dobbin Hill, Bentehough and Whiteley Wood in Ecclesall Bierlow. 15 Jan. 1735/6. With final concord and counterpart.

13/10/82. Conveyance by John Bright of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, gent., to James Mundy of the Inner Temple, London, and Gilbert Jodrell of Lincolns Inn, co. Middx., gentlemen, of a messuage, cottage and closes in Upper Whiteley Wood, and 2 cottages and closes in Ecclesall. 6 and 7 Oct. 1736.

13/10/83. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Smith and Job Bradley against James Mundy and Gilbert Jodrell respecting 6 messuages and land in Upper Whiteley Wood. 29 Nov. 1736.

13/10/84. Indenture of covenants between "John Graye near Bannercross", blacksmith, and Joan, his wife, of the one part, and Richard Battie of Sheffield, saddler, of the other part, declaring the uses of a fine respecting a messuage, etc. in Ecclesall Bierlow near Bannercross. 23 Dec. 1740. With final concord and copies.

13/10/85. Lease for 21 years by John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., to John Lee of Thrift House in Ecclesall in Sheffield parish, baker, of a messuage with appurtenances and lands at Bentihough in Ecclesall. 1 March 1741/2. Counterpart.

13/10/86. Final concord between Thomas Fretwell, gent., plaintiff, and William Hides and Elizabeth, his wife, and Joseph Rowbotham and Catherine, his wife, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages, 2 cottages, 4 acres, a sixth part of 15 messuages, 20 cottages, 20 barns, 20 stables, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 120 acres and common of pasture in Ecclesall, Sheffield, Darnall, Fullwood and Sheffield parish, and also a sixth part of an annual rent issuing from the manor and grange of Awndley, from lands and tenements in Holme and Heaton, otherwise Kirkheaton, from the rectory and church of Alburgh *alias* Aldborough, from Peniston rectory, from the rectory of Melton *alias* Melton on the Hill, and from the rectory of Burton *alias* Kirkburton. Morrow of Trin., 1742.

13/10/87. Final concord between Thomas Fretwell, plaintiff, Nathan Mycock and Sarah, his wife, and Jonathan Fenton and Mary, his wife, deforciants, respecting 8 acres and a sixth part of 15 messuages, 20 cottages, 20 barns, 20 stables, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 120 acres and common of pasture in Wadsley, Sheffield, Ecclesall, Darnall, Fullwood, and the parishes of Ecclesfield and Sheffield, and the sixth part of an annual rent issuing from the manor and grange of Awndley, from lands and tenements in Holme and Heaton, otherwise Kirkheaton, from the rectory and church of Alburgh *alias* Aldborough, from Peniston rectory, from the rectory of Melton *alias* Melton on the Hill, and from the rectory of Burton *alias* Kirkburton. Morrow of Trin., 1742.

13/10/88. Indenture of covenants between George Hawke of Leavy Greave, razorsmith, and Hannah, his wife, of the one part and William Battie of Sheffield, gent., of the other part, declaring the uses of a fine respecting a sixth part of a rent issuing from the rectory and church of Aldburgh, the rectory of Melton, the manor and grange of Awndley, lands and tenements in Holme and Heaton, the rectory of Burton, a messuage in Dixon Lane, Sheffield, 4 tenements in Ecclesall, 2 tenements in Brightside, farms, lands, and premises in Fullwood and Hallam, a tenement in Darnall, several cottages in Sheffield and all other lands, etc. formerly the estate of John Fox of Fullwood Hall within the town or parish of Sheffield. 26 July 1742.

13/10/89. Presentation that James Bright died seized of a messuage at Nether Edge, with close. 6 Oct. 1742. (Extract from the Court Leet and Great Court Baron of Ecclesall manor.)

13/10/90. Two indentures of covenant respecting the above. 25 Jan. 1742/3.

13/10/91. Final concord between George Greaves, plaintiff, and John Wilson and Isabel, his wife, and Joseph Wilson and Ann, his wife, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land in Ecclesall *alias* Ecclesall Bierlow and Sheffield parish. Oct. of Purification, 1754. With copy.

13/10/92. Mortgage by George Marriott of Sheffield, cutler, to John Greaves of the same, factor, of the *Nether Ox pasture* near Brintcliff Edge. 29 April 1754.

13/10/93. Lease for 21 years by Thomas Mycock of Westbarrgreen in Sheffield, forkmaker, and Ann, his wife, to John Wilson and Joseph Wilson, sons of the late Thomas Wilson of Sheffield, shearsmith, of a moiety of a messuage called *Dobbinhill* in Ecclesall lordship, and closes. 30 April 1754.

13/10/94. Indenture between John Wilson of Sheffield, shearsmith, and Isabell, his wife, of the first part, Joseph Wilson of the same, factor, and Ann, his wife, of the second part, and George Greaves of the same, button maker, of the third part, for the division of their estate at Dobbin Hill. 20 May 1754. With copy.

13/10/95. Conveyance by Godfrey Heathcote of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent. (executor and devisee of John Bright, esq.), to Mary Dalton, late of Chesterfield, now of Banner Cross, spinster (granddaughter and heir at law of the said John Bright), of the said John's real and personal estate in cos. Derby and York, pursuant to his Will. 1 and 2 Oct. 1754.

13/10/96. Conveyance by George Younge of Sheffield, "haberdasher of hatts", and Enoch Laycock of the same, button maker, to Thomas Hammond of Tapton Hill in Sheffield parish, yeoman, of the *Nether Ox pasture* near Brintcliffe Edge. 6 and 7 April 1755.

13/10/97. Conveyance by "John Gray near Bannercross" in Ecclesall Bierlow, yeoman, and Joan, his wife, to Thomas Hammond of Tapton Hill in Sheffield parish, yeoman, of part of a close called *Oxpasture* near the house in Ecclesall where the said John lives. 20 Dec. 1755.

13/10/98. Assignment of a mortgage by John Greaves of Sheffield, factor, at the nomination of Thomas Hammond of Tapton Hill, to John Nodder of Sheffield, gent., of the premises concerned in 13/10/92 above. 14 May 1756.

13/10/99. Feoffment by John Gray of Ecclesall, blacksmith, to John Gray of Little Sheffield, blacksmith, his son, of a messuage at Banner Cross in Ecclesall, and closes. 30 May 1759. With abstract for registration at Wakefield.

13/10/100. Conveyance by John Gray to his son John Gray of a messuage at Banner Cross and closes, subject to an annuity for the life of the former. 1 and 2 June 1759.

13/10/101. Lease for 21 years by John Gray the younger of Little Sheffield, blacksmith, to Lord John Murray of Bannercross of a messuage in Ecclesall Bierlow and closes. 6 July 1759.

13/10/102. Mortgage by John Gray the younger to Thomas Bland of Sheffield, innkeeper, of a messuage at Banner Cross in the possession of Lord John Murray. 24 May 1763. With bond.

13/10/103. Mortgage by John Gray the younger to John Senyor, yeoman, of a messuage at Banner Cross and closes. 24 March 1764.

13/10/104. Mortgage by Thomas Bright of Sheffield, gent., and Margaret, his wife, to Henry Wilmot of Bloomsbury Square, co. Middx., esq., of closes in Ecclesall near Dove House and another close in Ecclesall. 1 and 2 Oct. 1767.

13/10/105. Will of Thomas Hammond of Tapton Hill in Ecclesall, yeoman. 13 Oct. 1767. Probate, 27 April 1772.

13/10/106. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Tyas against Henry Wilmot, esq., respecting land in Ecclesall. 28 Nov. 1767.

13/10/107. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Bright of Sheffield, gent., and William Harrison of Hooton Roberts, clerk, respecting premises concerned in 13/10/104 above. 28 June 1768.

13/10/108. "A schedule of part of the Writings belonging to Mr. John Wilson's Estate at Dobbin Hill in Ecclesall Bierlow." 1716-68.

13/10/109. Letter of attorney by Thomas Bland to William Hall and Joseph Bertles to transfer his estate in the mortgage concerned in 13/10/102 above. 9 Jan. 1770.

13/10/110. Assignment from Thomas Bland, by William Hall his attorney, to John Gray the younger of a mortgage of a messuage at Banner Cross. 28 Jan. 1771.

13/10/111. Conveyance by John Senyor of Barnsley, butcher, by the appointment of John Gray the younger, to John Brookes of Sheffield, merchant, of the messuage etc. concerned in 13/10/103 above. 25 May 1771. With final concord.

13/10/112. Conveyance by Joseph Hammond of Whiston, gent., to John Brookes of Sheffield, merchant, of a close called the *Nether Ox pasture* near Brincliffe Edge in Sheffield parish and a parcel of land adjoining. 2 and 3 Aug. 1773.

13/10/113. Release by Samuel Alsop of Ecclesall Byerlow, whitesmith, and Ann, his wife, to John Brookes of Sheffield, merchant, of rights of dower respecting the said Ann. 27 April 1774. With final concord and counterpart.

13/10/114. Assignment by Walter Oborne [*sic*] of Ravenfield, esq. (by the direction of Joseph Wilson of High field in Ecclesall Bierlow, merchant, and Anne, his wife), to Samuel Broomhead of Sheffield, cutler (trustee for Joseph Broomhead and Benjamin Broomhead, both of Sheffield, factors), of a mortgage respecting 4 tenements and a close at Highfields and also 4 tenements and 2 closes at Dobbin Hill. 21 Jan. 1775.

13/10/115. Memorandum of an agreement between Thomas Newbould, George Greaves and William Parker (assignees of the estate of Joseph Wilson), of the one part, and James Wheat of Sheffield, gent., of the other part, respecting messuages, lands and premises at Dobbing hill in Ecclesall Byerlow. 2 Oct. 1775.

13/10/116. Sale by the Commissioners of Bankruptcy (for Joseph Wilson of Highfield in Sheffield parish, merchant) to George Greaves of Sheffield, merchant, and others of a capital messuage and premises and lands at Highfield. 16 Jan. 1776.

13/10/117. Conveyance by Samuel Broomhead and Benjamin Broomhead, by the direction of George Greaves, Joseph Wilson and others, to James Wheat of 4 tenements and lands with appurtenances at Dobbin Hill in Ecclesall Byerlow. 2 and 3 April 1776.

13/10/118. Agreement between Thomas Bright of Sheffield, gent., and William Harrison of Hooton Roberts, clerk, respecting parcels of land in Ecclesall near Dove House and Maihou Bank. 2 Oct. 1776.

13/10/119. "Short Abstract of Mr. Brights Title to Lands near Brincliffe Edge in Ecclesall." 1696-1776.

13/10/120. Conveyance by James Wheat of Sheffield, gent., to Lord John Murray of Banner Cross of 4 tenements and 2 closes at Dobbin Hill. 1 and 2 April 1777.

13/10/121. Mortgage by Daniel Plowman of Banner Cross, servant, by the appointment of Lord John Murray, to Thomas Linley of Beauchief Liberty, co. Derby, husbandman, of 4 messuages and closes at Dobbing Hill in Ecclesall Bierlow. 3 and 4 April 1777.

13/10/122. Release by Ann Worral of Ecclesale Byerlow, widow, Edward Pinder of the same, farmer, and Elizabeth, his wife, and William Ashforth of Brintcliff Edge, cutler, to Lord John Murray of Banner Cross, of a cottage at Banner Cross in the possession of the said Ann, and a croft. 24 Feb. 1778.

13/10/123. "M^{r}. Tophams Certificate of Incumberances affecting the Estates of M^{r}. Tho^{s}. Bright." 24 Oct. 1778.

13/10/124. Assignment by William Harrison of Hooton Roberts, clerk, to Thomas Stead of Burrowlee in Ecclesfield parish, gent., of 5 closes in Ecclesall near Dove House and a messuage. 17 and 18 Nov. 1778.

13/10/125. Conveyance by John Brookes of Sheffield, merchant, and Sarah, his wife, to Lord John Murray, of a messuage at Banner Cross and 3 closes adjoining. 3 and 4 Aug. 1779.

13/10/126. Mortgage by the above John Murray to the above John Brookes of a messuage at Banner Cross and 3 closes called the *Oxpastures* and *Offerton field* and 2 pieces of land at Brintcliff Edge. 5 Aug. 1779.

13/10/127. Final concord between John Murray, esq., plaintiff, and John Brooks and Sarah, his wife, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages, 2 cottages and land in Ecclesal Byerlow. 3 weeks from Trin., 1779. With counterpart.

13/10/128. Assignment of trust by John Nodder of Cuthorpe in Brampton parish, co. Derby, gent., by the direction of Joseph Hammond of Whiston, gent., and the above John Brookes, to Lord John Murray, respecting the *Nether Ox pasture.* 26 Jan. 1780.

13/10/129. Confirmation by the Hon. Mary Murray to John Brookes of 13/10/125 and 13/10/126 above. 15 Oct. 1781.

13/10/130. Conveyance by Thomas Steade of Burrowlee, gent., at the request of Thomas Bright and Lord John Murray, to Joseph Clay of Bridgehouses, esq., and Peter Pegge of Beauchief, co. Derby, esq., of 5 closes in Ecclesal near Dove House, and a messuage adjoining. 17 and 18 May 1782.

13/10/131. Conveyance by Thomas Linley of Beauchief, co. Derby, husbandman, by the direction of Lord John Murray and Peter Pegge, to James Wheat of Sheffield, gent., of 2 tenements and land assigned to Thomas on the 4 April 1777. 31 March and 1 April 1783.

13/10/132. Miscellaneous papers respecting Ecclesall. 18th cent. 13 items.

13/10/133. Certificate of contract for the redemption of land tax respecting William Murray of Bradenham, co. Bucks., esq. 19 March 1804.

13/10/134. Lease for 2 years by William Murray of Ashby, co. Linc., Brigadier General, to Thomas Gillot of Sheffield, brickmaker, of clay beds underneath the said William's lands at Banner Cross, with licence to search for and use such clay. 2 Nov. 1805. With copy.

13/10/135. Lease for 15 years by William Murray to Abraham Hill of Whitely Wood, saw manufacturer, and others of a seam of coal called the *Black Coal* in Ecclesall Bierlow with appurtenances. 25 March 1806.

13/10/136. Articles of agreement between Major General William Foxlow Murray and John, Duke of Atholl, respecting estates in cos. York and Derby. 27 June 1811.

13/10/137. "Particulars of Estates in the County of York to be Sold by Auction by Mr. Bishop" [incl. Banner Cross House]. 30 Aug. 1811. Printed. 2 copies.

13/10/138. Extracts from title deeds and writings relating to estates of Lt.-Gen. William Foxlow Murray. 1808-12. 23 items.

13/10/139. Conveyance by the Rev. James Blackburn, with the consent of the Duke of Atholl and William Murray, to Peter Pegge Burnell, late of Beauchief, co. Derby, now of Winkburne, co. Nott., esq., of lands in Yorkshire and Derbyshire upon trust. 4 and 5 June 1813.

13/10/140. Lease for a year by the Duke of Atholl and Peter Pegge Burnell to Lt.-Gen. William Murray of Banner Cross with appurtenances, premises and land. 26 June 1816.

13/10/141. Indenture of covenants between the Rev. William Bagshaw, Vicar of Buckminster, co. Leic., and Anne, his wife, of the one part, and John, Duke of Atholl, of the other part, respecting the production of certain title deeds. 24 Nov. 1819. Copy.

13/10/142. Memoranda and bills respecting building at Banner Cross. 1817-21. 121 items.

13/10/143. "Schedule of Deeds delivered to The Rev^{d}. W^{m}. Bagshaw and his Wife by the Surviv^{g}. Trustee under the Will of the late Joseph Clay, esq^{r}." 9 Oct. 1822.

13/10/144. Assignment by the surviving executors of James Wheat and John Brookes, to Benjamin Wyatt, trustee of Anne, wife of the Rev. William Bagshaw, of two outstanding terms of years affecting estates at Banner Cross. 21 Dec. 1822.

13/10/145. Mutual general releases between the Rev. William Bagshawe, of the one part, and Sir William Chambers Bagshawe and William John Bagshawe, of the other part. 30 Sept. 1825. With bill.

13/10/146. Papers in various lawsuits of the Rev. William Bagshawe. 1799-1843. 24 items.

13/10/147. Valuations of tenant rights on a farm at Carter Knowle. 1842, 1844. With bill.

13/10/148. Rentals respecting Banner Cross. 1832-47. 17 items.

FIRBECK

13/10/149. Sale by George Leveret of Firbeck *alias* Firthbeck, gent., to Nicholas Saunderson of the Ewes, yeoman, of a moiety of a messuage and a close in Firbeck. 28 Jan. 1589.

FULWOOD

13/10/150. Release of right by Lawrence Hall the elder of Fulwood, yeoman, and his son Lawrence Hall to Ulisses Fox of the same, yeoman, in 2 closes in Fulwood. 23 April 1622.

13/10/151. Sale by Lawrence Hall the younger of Fullwood, yeoman, to Ulisses Fox of the same, yeoman, of 2 closes in Fulwood. 21 April 1626.

13/10/152. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Rawson and Robert Stone against Ulisses Fox respecting lands with appurtenances in Fullwood and Sheffield. 17 May 1626.

13/10/153. Extracts from proceedings at Sheffield manorial courts respecting land in Fulwood and Hallam. 1439-1666. 17 items.

13/10/154. Indenture of covenants between George Fox of Fullwood Hall, gent., and William Fox of the same, son of the said George, of the one part, and Edward Turner of Bernardes Inne in St. Andrewes parish, co. Middx., gent., and Francis Gregge of the same county, gent., to suffer a plea of recovery of 4 messuages, lands and appurtenances in Smallfield in Bradfield Chappellry, Fullwood, Sheffield and Morehall. 21 and 22 Oct. 1690. With copy.

13/10/155. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Joseph Yate, gent., against Edward Turner and Francis Gregg, gentlemen, respecting 4 messuages and land with appurtenances in Fullwood, Sheffield, Morehall, Smalefeild and Bradfeild. 28 Nov. 1690. With copy.

13/10/156. Articles of agreement between William Fox of Fullwood Hall, gent., and George Fox of the same, his brother, respecting the former's messuages, lands and premises in the manor of Sheffield and of Smallefield. 5 Sept. 1695.

13/10/157. Extracts from proceedings at the Court Baron of Sheffield manor respecting William Fox, George Fox and land in Fulwood (incl. Fulwood Hall) and Hallam. 3 March 1698. 3 items.

13/10/158. Articles of agreement between William Fox of Fulwood, gent., and George Fox of the same, gent., in a dispute concerning lands in Fulwood and Hallam. 19 Oct. 1698.

13/10/159. Indenture of covenants between the above William and George Fox for the levying of a fine respecting lands of the said William in Fullwood, Hallam and Smallfeild. 25 Oct. 1698.

13/10/160. Surrender by William Fox of a capital messuage with appurtenances in Hallam and Fullwood. 1 Dec. 1698. (Extract from proceedings at the Court Baron of the manor of Sheffield.)

13/10/161. Final concord between John Shiercliffe, gent., and George Fox, gent., plaintiffs, and Robert Wingfeild, gent., and Martha, his wife, Francis Reresby, gent., and Alice, his wife, and William Fox, gent., deforciants, respecting messuages and lands in Ardsley, Fullwood, Smallfeild, and Bradfeild chapelry, a moiety of 6 acres of land and meadow in Smallfield and Bradfield chapelry, and a quarter of a messuage and 20 acres in Haldworth and Bradfield chapelry. 15 days from Trin., 1699.

13/10/162. Similar extract to 13/10/160 above respecting a surrender by George Fox. 23 Dec. 1699.

13/10/163. Memorandum of an agreement between William and George Fox respecting the sale of their estate in Fulwood. 19 March 1700.

13/10/164. Lease for 500 years by George Fox to William Sitwell of Sheffeild, gent., of 3 closes in Fullwood. 17 Aug. 1702.

13/10/165. Judgment in a case between George Fox and William Sitwell. 1702.

13/10/166. Bond of indemnity of Henry Balguy of Hope, co. Derby, to Robert Turie of Sheffeild, clerk. 20 Oct. 1703.

13/10/167. Copy of a judgment between John Fox, gent., and George Fox, gent. Hil., 1706. 2 items.

13/10/168. Bond of Samuel Morewood of Little Sheffeild, gent., and George Fox of Fullwood, gent., to John Fox of Sheffeild parish, gent., for performance of covenants. 1 Aug. 1706.

13/10/169. Assignment by Mary Sittwell, widow of William Sittwel [*sic*], by the direction of George Fox, to John Kent of Sheffeild, chandler, of closes concerned in 13/10/164 above. 6 Aug. 1706.

13/10/170. Assignment by Mary Sitwell to John Fox of a judgment obtained by her late husband William against George Fox. 20 Oct. 1706.

13/10/171. Conveyance by Thomas Wright of Sheffeild, gent., to John Fox of the same, gent., of a messuage and closes at Fulwood. 1 and 2 Nov. 1706.

13/10/172. Conveyance by George Fox to John Fox of Sheffeild, gent., of closes in Fulwood and all the pews in Sheffeild church or Bradfeild and Ecclesall chapels belonging to Fulwood Hall. 3 March 1707. With bond.

13/10/173. Bond of George Fox of Fullwood Hall, gent., and Samuel Moorwood of Little Sheffeild, gent., to John Fox of Sheffeild Parke, gent., respecting a surrender of Fullwood Hall, Newfeild *alias* Wellfeild House and closes. 24 Sept. 1707.

13/10/174. Bond of John Silvester of Birth-thwaite, gent., to John Fox of Sheffeild Parke, gent., respecting the same. 24 Sept. 1707. With draft.

13/10/175. Release by Henry Balgay of Hope, co. Derby, esq., to John Fox of Sheffeild Parke, gent., of all right in 3 closes at Fullwood. 5 April 1709.

13/10/176. Paper in a case between George Fox, complainant, and John Fox, defendant. Hil., 1714.

13/10/177. Assignment by John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent., to Joshua Birks of Norton Lee in Norton parish, co. Derby, yeoman, of a lease of land called Bole Hill in the lordship of Sheffield. 20 June 1721. Endorsed: "Lands in Fulwood."

13/10/178. Memorandum of an admittance of Hannah, wife of George Hawke, to Fullwood Hall and other lands and premises. 25 Feb. 1746. (Extract from proceedings at the Court Baron of the Manor of Sheffield.)

13/10/179. Conveyance by Thomas Allin of Leavy Greave, cutler, and Mary, his wife, William Hoole of Tinsley, gent., Sarah Mycock of Sheffield, widow, and others to the Rev. John Clarkson of Silkstone, of closes in Fullwood, and covenants respecting a surrender of Fullwood Hall with closes and appurtenances. 13 and 14 Nov. 1752.

13/10/180. Extract from proceedings at Sheffield Court Baron respecting a surrender of Fullwood Hall and closes there to the use of the Rev. John Clarkson of Silkstone. 16 Nov. 1752.

13/10/181. Mortgage by William Green of Berners Street, Oxford Rd., in St. Mary Le Bone parish, co. Middx., esq., and others to George Greaves of Sheffield, merchant, of closes in Fullwood, appurtenances of Fullwood Hall. 4 March 1780. With bond.

13/10/182. Admittance of George Greaves of Sheffield to a capital messuage called Fullwood Hall and closes in Fullwood. 23 Sept. 1784. (Extract from proceedings at the Court Baron of the manor of Sheffield.)

13/10/183. Conveyance by William Green, late of Berners St., Oxford Rd., in St. Mary Le Bone parish, co. Middx., now of Boulogne, and others to George Greaves of Sheffield, merchant, of Fullwood Hall and closes in Fullwood. 29 and 30 Nov. 1784.

13/10/184. Indenture of covenants between William Walker of Wembley, co. Middx., surgeon, and others, and George Greaves of Sheffield, merchant, and others for the production of title deeds respecting the same. 30 Nov. 1784.

13/10/185. Bond of indemnity of Francis Biddulph of Charing Cross, co. Middx., esq., and others to George Greaves of Sheffield, clothier. 30 Nov. 1784.

13/10/186. Release by Charles, Earl of Surrey, to George Greaves of Sheffield, merchant, respecting Fullwood Hall and closes. 20 June 1785.

13/10/187. Lease for 15 years by George Bustard Greaves of Page Hall in Ecclesfield parish, merchant, to Robert Marshall of Stannington in Ecclesfield parish, husbandman, of Fullwood Hall with closes. 29 March 1788.

13/10/188. Miscellaneous bills relating to Fulwood Hall. *c.* 1785-97. 27 items.

13/10/189. Miscellaneous papers concerning exchanges of land with the Duke of Norfolk. *c.* 1802-5. 19 items.

13/10/190. Release by Philip Gell of Hopton, co. Derby, esq., to George Bustard Greaves of Elmsall Lodge, esq., of closes at Fullwood and Upper Hallam. 14 July 1828.

13/10/191. Bond of Bennet Woodcroft of Manchester, co. Lanc., gent., to George Greaves of Elmsall Lodge in South Kirkby parish, and others, respecting a well at Fulwood. 7 July 1837.

13/10/192. Lease for 21 years by the Sheffield Town Collector and his assistants to the Rev. Richard Walker of Fullwood, of a parcel of land at Fullwood. 31 Oct. 1839.

HALLAM

13/10/193. Articles of agreement between John Unwin of Hoyle House in Sheffield parish, yeoman, and John Unwin of Whiteley Wood, carpenter, respecting a messuage called Hoyle House in Hallam. 24 Dec. 1689.

13/10/194. Bond of John Unwin, late of Hoyle House, yeoman, to Joseph Banks of Sheffeild, gent., respecting the same. 10 Jan. 1697/8.

13/10/195. Surrenders respecting Hoyle House, 1690, 1698, 1707, 1721. (Extracts from proceedings at the Court Baron of the manor of Sheffield.)

13/10/196. "An assesment [*sic*] made for the Necessary relief of the Poor and for other purposes Mention'd in the Several Acts of Parliament relating to the poor. For the Township of Upper Hallam." 27 Oct. 1809.

HATFIELD

13/10/197. Release by Godfrey Heathcote of Chesterfield, co. Derby, gent. (sole executor of John Bright, late of Chesterfield, esq.), and Mary Dalton, late of Chesterfield, now of Banner Cross, spinster (grandaughter and

heir-at-law of the said John Bright), by the direction of John Hatfield the elder of Hatfield, gent., to John Hatfield of Laughton en le Morthen, his son, of 6 closes in Hatfield. 1 June 1754.

LINTON

13/10/198. Lease for 21 years by William, Duke of Devonshire to William Bagshaw of Coats Hall, esq., of mines on Grassington out Moor. 10 Sept. 1774.

13/10/199. Lease for 21 years by William, Duke of Devonshire to William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, clerk, of the allotment called *Glory* on Grassington Moor in Linton parish. 25 June 1821.

OUGHTIBRIDGE

13/10/200. Will of Henry Hall of Aughtibrigg in Bradfield Chappellry, yeoman. n.d. [19th cent.]. (Imperf.)

RAWMARSH

13/10/201. Assignment by Elizabeth Waynwright, widow of Samuel Waynwright, late of Upper Hough in Rawmarsh parish, gent., to Richard Youle, alderman of Chesterfield, co. Derby, of the manor of Rawmarsh. 25 Sept. 1673.

13/10/202. Lease for 21 years by the Chapter of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, Southwell, co. Nott., to Richard Youle of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, gent., of the manor of Rawmarsh. 12 April 1677.

13/10/203. Court Roll of the manor of Rawmarsh. 1728-9. 1 m. (Imperf.)

13/10/204. Lease for 21 years by the above Chapter to John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., of the manor of Rawmarsh. 20 Jan. 1736/7.

13/10/205. Similar lease to James, Duke of Atholl, of the same. 30 May 1759.

13/10/206. Schedule of deeds relating to a leasehold estate at Rawmarsh belonging to Benjamin Sharpe and mortaged to Lt.-Gen. William Murray. 1815. 2 copies.

13/10/207. "A plan of the premises on the N.W. side of Rawmarsh Church." 16 May 1839.

13/10/208. Miscellaneous correspondence and papers respecting an estate at Rawmarsh. 1788-1844. 73 items.

13/10/209. Rentals of an estate at Rawmarsh. 1841-47. 8 items.

ROSSINGTON

13/10/210. Mortgage by William Murray of Banner Cross, esq., to Joseph Clay of Bridgehouses, esq., and Peter Pegge of Beauchief, co. Derby, esq., of a parcel of the commons of Rossington with the dwelling house called *Shooters Hill* erected on it. 30 Dec. 1791. Copy.

SALTERFORTH

13/10/211. "Abstract of the Rev^{d}. W^{m}. Bagshaw's Title to a Messuage and Lands at Salterforth-Lane Head." 17th-19th cent.

SHEFFIELD

13/10/212. Will of George Wild of Hall Carr in Sheffield parish, yeoman. 23 Dec. 1689. Copy.

13/10/213. Will of Anthony Milnes of Sheffeild, cutler. 5 Jan. 1692/3.

13/10/214. Assignment by Bankruptcy Commissioners of Samuel Watson of Sheffeild, mercer, to John Bright of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, merchant, of all the lands, tenements, etc., which the said Samuel had when he became bankrupt. 23 Feb. 1707/8.

13/10/215. Renunciation by Anne White of Sheffield, widow, mother of the above Samuel Watson, of all her right to the administration of Samuel's goods. 10 March 1712/13.

13/10/216. Letters of Administration of the above Samuel Watson. 15 May 1713.

13/10/217. Lease for 21 years by John Bright of Banner Crosse, gent., to Thomas Bocking of Bridge houses, maltster, of a messuage at Bridge houses in Sheffield parish. 2 May 1716. With counterpart.

13/10/218. Lease for 21 years by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., of two third parts of tithes of corn, grain and hay on land south of the river Sheafe in Sheffield parish. 1 Aug. 1720. With terrier.

13/10/219. Will of Thomas Wilson of Sheffield, shearsmith. 24 Dec. 1737. Copy.

13/10/220. Will of Hannah Hawke of Levy-Greave in Sheffield parish, widow. 11 June 1748. Copy.

13/10/221. General letter of attorney by George Hawke of Sheffield, cutler, to John Webster, cutler, and William Fairbank, schoolmaster, both of the same. 15 Feb. 1752.

13/10/222. Lease for a year by Joseph Webster of Sheffield, cutler, to Thomas Hudson of Crooksmoor in Sheffield parish, yeoman, of a messuage in Campo-lane in Sheffield. 18 Nov. 1755.

13/10/223. Will of John Gray of Little Sheffield in Sheffield parish, blacksmith. 23 Sept. 1764. Copy.

13/10/224. Will of Robert Clay of Bridgehouses in Sheffield parish, gent. 12 Feb. 1783. Codicils, 23 Dec. 1784, 11 March 1785. With copy.

13/10/225. "An Act for Dividing and Inclosing several Commons and Waste Grounds, Common Fields, and Mesne Inclosures, within the Manor of Sheffield." 1791. (Printed.)

13/10/226. Will of Joseph Clay of Bridgehouse in Sheffield parish, esq. 16 May 1797.

SMALLFIELD

13/10/227. Settlement after the marriage of George Fox of Smallfield, gent., and Dorothy, daughter of Henry Balgay the elder of Rowlee, co. Derby, gent. 1 Nov. 1665.

13/10/228. Conveyance by William Fox of Fullwood, gent., to George Fox of the same, his brother, of lands and tenements in Small Feild in the chapelry of Bradfeild and closes in Fullwood. 25 Oct. 1698.

13/10/229. Conveyance by George Fox of Fullwood, gent., to Thomas Wright of Sheffeild, gent., of a messuage and lands at Smallfeild in Bradfeild chapelry and a freehold estate and 3 closes at Fullwood conveyed to him by William Fox his brother. 24 and 25 May 1704.

13/10/230. Final concord between Dicinsin Nobill, gent., plaintiff, and Samuel Morewood and Elizabeth, his wife, William Stones, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, Joseph Creswick and Deborah, his wife, Thomas Wright, gent., and Mary, his wife, and George Fox, deforciants, of 7 messuages, premises and land in Oakes, Bradfeild, Dungworth, Haldworth, Button Hill, Ecclesall, Hallam, Walkley, Sheffeild, Coates *alias* Coytes, Fullwood, Smallfeild, Bradefeild chapelry, Sheffeild parish, Ecclesfeild, Silkston and Peniston, and tithes of corn, grain and hay, etc. in Coates *alias* Coytes, and the parishes of Silkston and Peniston. 15 days from Trin., 1707.

13/10/231. Release by George Fox of Fullwood, gent., and John Fox of Sheffeild parke, gent., to Samuel Morewood of the Oakes in Bradfeild Chappellrey, gent., of a messuage and closes at Smallfeild. 5 July 1709. Copy.

STUMPERLOW

13/10/232. Extracts from proceedings at the Court Baron of the manor of Sheffield respecting surrenders of a messuage and closes at Stumperlow. 1678, 1685, 1707, 1708, 1712, 1718. 6 items.

13/10/233. Similar extracts respecting the admittance of John Bright of Chesterfield, co. Derby, esq., to the same. 26 June 1735.

YORK

13/10/234. Sale by Jonas Watterhowse of Bradford, gent., and Katherine, his wife (late wife of John Lister of York, gent., deceased), to Richard Brewster of York, gent., of a messuage with the adjoining building, used for a kiln and malting, and premises in Old Cony streete, York. 21 July 1630.

13/10/235. Schedule of deeds respecting a messuage and premises in Old Coney Street, York. 1620-1701.

13/10/236. Memorandum of an agreement between William Alderson of York, bricklayer, and John Dalton of the same respecting a house, malt kiln, brewhouse and premises in Londal Street, York. 17 Sept. 1717.

13/10/237. Final concord between John Prescott, gent., Thomas Benson and John Dalton, plaintiffs, and Jonathan Halliday, gent., and Mary, his wife, and William Alderson and Anne, his wife, deforciants, respecting 3 messuages and premises with appurtenances in St. Wilfrid's parish, York. 3 Feb. 1719.

13/10/238. "Presentments [respecting St. Wilfrid's], given in at St. Michael Belfreys visitation." 25 Aug. 1730.

13/10/239. Certificate by James Barnard, esq., Lord Mayor of the city of York, that Richard Dalton of York, merchant, is freed from all tolls and other customs. 11 Aug. 1735.

13/10/240. Bond of indemnity of Richard Addy of New-park, yeoman, and William Dalton of York, brewer, to Roger Overend of Acomb in York, gent. 11 Aug. 1739.

13/10/241. Bond of John Dalton the younger of York, barber surgeon, John Lambert of the same, gent., John Dalton the elder of the same, brewer,

and others to the Mayor and Commonalty of York, for the performance of a charitable use called Sir Thomas White's Charity. 23 July 1742.

13/10/242. Valuation of Lord John Murray's houses at York. Late 18th cent.

XIV—XXII. SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS [1]

XIV. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1756) AND HIS WIFE MARY, *NÉE* WINGFIELD (d. 1754)

William Bagshawe

14/1/1-31. Correspondence.

1-7. Family and Relations.

Col. Samuel Bagshaw (1751); John and Thomas Hardwar (1711-28), 3; William Wildman (n.d.); Rev. Henry Winder of Liverpool (1740), 2.

8-31. Others.

John Acton (1747); Alexander Barker (1745); Thomas Birtles (1748); Francis Bower (1747); Edward Brereton (1754); Lord Charles Cavendish (n.d.); Joshua Clay (1731); Isaac Clegg (1749); William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire (1749-51), 4; West Fenton (1725); Samuel Foxlowe (1751); B. Greaves (n.d.); William, Marquess of Hartington (1749); B. Hodgson (n.d.); Simon Jacson (1750); Robert Longden (1741); Robert Middleton (1729); W. Mills (n.d.); Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby (1751); John Slack (1746); P. Withington (1716).

14/2/1-21. Accounts and papers.

Papers respecting his marriage to Mary Wingfield (1727-31), 3; miscellaneous papers (1706-26), 2; accounts (various) (1724-50),[2] 16.

Mary Bagshawe

14/3/1-10. Correspondence.

Col. Samuel Bagshawe (1758); Anne Clarke (n.d.); Miss Clarke (n.d.); E. Clegg (1737); Robert Newton (1747); Margaret Pole (n.d.); Priscilla Wildman, *sister* (1750); Ferdinando Wingfield, *brother* (1705-14), 3.

14/3/11-15. Miscellaneous papers, 1726-7. 5 items.

XV. COLONEL SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1762)

15/1/1-43. Personal Correspondence.

1-7. Relations.

Nathaniel Bagshawe (1761); William Bagshawe of Ford (1751), 2; Lady Ann Caldwell (1757); Henry Caldwell (1753); Sir James Caldwell (1751); Fanny Young (1748).

[1] V. sup., vol. 36, p. 250.

[2] A number concern the legacy left by the Rev. William Bagshawe to be distributed to the poor of Glossop and Charlesworth.

8-43. Others.

William, 2nd Earl of Bessborough (1761); John Birtles (1758); Edward Brereton (1751); Lord George Cavendish (1759-61), 3; Sir Henry Cavendish (1761), 2; Joseph Clegg (1758); Thomas Colley (1757); 3rd and 4th Dukes of Devonshire (1745-62), 13; Mr. Evatt (1757); Anthony Garmonsway (1751); Francis Gisborne (1761); John Goddard (1758); Mrs. D. Hart (1759), 2; William Kellett (n.d.); John Kirby (1762); Thomas Middleton (1762); Richard Robinson (1762); fragments, 3.

15/2/1-26. Military Correspondence and Papers.

1-8. Correspondence.

William Lushington (1753); Major John Melvill (n.d.); Capt. William Trench (1760-80), 4; Lt.-Col. Edward Windus (1761); Daniel Wright, surgeon (1747).

9-26. Papers.

Military appointments, 1738-60, 10; respecting the expedition to the coast of France in 1746, 5; petition to the King, 1758, with copy, 2; effective Roll of Capt. Trench's Company, 1760.

15/3/1-35. Personal Papers and Accounts.

Fragment of a diary, 1740-2; respecting the settlement before his marriage to Catherine Caldwell, 1751-8, 3; miscellaneous personal papers, 1748-75 (includes an Irish House of Commons Division List *c.* 1750), 11; accounts (various), 1755-64, 20.

XVI. ANNE BAGSHAWE, *NÉE* FOXLOWE (d. 1844)

16/1/1-140. Correspondence.

1-11. Family and relations.

Rev. William Bagshawe, *husband* (*c.* 1821); Lady Bateman, *née* Gisborne (1829), 2; Charles Bedford (1819); Rev. Francis Foxlowe, *brother* (1821); Jane Foxlowe (1842); Francis Gisborne of Staveley (1800); Mrs. Gisborne of Yoxall Lodge (1797); Henry Marwood Greaves (1828, 1835), 2; Hon. Mrs. Vesey Knox, *née* Gisborne (n.d.).

12-140. Others.

Bagshawe family of the Oaks (1829-42), 9; William Bekes (1797); A. Bilbie (1816); Mary Bilbie (1838-40), 3; Susanna Birnell (n.d.); Mrs. Broadrick (n.d.); Archibald Brounlie (1797); Isaac Hawkins Browne (n.d.); Miss M. Browne (1834, 1835), 2; Mrs. M. N. Burke (1801); Ernestina Burnett (1837); Mary Ann Butler (1837); S. Butterfield (1821), 2; Sir Francis Chantrey (1819); Elizabeth Charge (1831), 2; A. Cove (1815); Mrs. E. Fowler (1818); Marian Garner (*c.* 1840-2), 3; Ellen Greaves (1824); Elizabeth Grundy (1833); Rev. George Hall (1843), 3; Sarah Hardern (1837, 1838), 2; Arabella Harrison (1840-1), 4; Charlotte Harrison (1844), 3; H. Hendrie (1818), 3; A. S. Hetherington (1837), 3; Catherine Heyrich (1816); archdeacon Hill (1839); John Holland (1823-31), 3; John Hutchinson (1822), 2; William

Jenkins (1797); Mrs. S. Gally Knight (1814-15), 3; Nancy Mackenzie (1837-8), 3; James Montgomery (1827, 1838), 2; Elizabeth Moody (1814); Mrs. A. Moore (1821); John Moore (1836-7), 3; Charlotte Mower (1811, 1813), 2; Elizabeth Myers (1838-40), 3; Miss Myers (n.d.); Harriet Popham (1832); Emily Read (n.d.); John Read (1826), 2; Elizabeth Richardson (n.d.), 2; Margaret Rodgers (1840), 2; Miss Roe (1815); Mary Ann Severne (1836); Silcock family (1825-40), 9; J. Singleton (1841); Mrs. E. Slacke (1843-4), 4; A. B. Slater (1841); Mary Ann Smith (1834-40), 4; S. Smith (1829); Harriet Spencer (1833), 2; Mary Sterndale (1818); Maria Stevens (1834), 3; Eliza Taylor (1833); A. M. Thomas (*c.* 1840); Henry Thomas (1841); Thomas Henry Travis (1842); Joseph Walker (1831); White Watson (1823); S. Wheelhouse (1839); Jane Whyles (1797); James Wilson (1830, 1841), 2; fragments, etc. (19th cent.), 3.

16/2/1-19. Accounts, 1782-1844.
Mainly concerning Banner Cross house and garden.

16/3/1-48. Foxlowe correspondence and papers.
Samuel Foxlowe, from his son Thomas (1787), 2; Dorothy Foxlowe, *née* Gisborne, from members of the Gisborne family (1743-82), 8; Rev. Francis Foxlowe, from relations and the Cavendish family (1800-34), 7; Jane Foxlowe, *née* Slater Rebow, from relations (1820-43), 3; Mary Foxlowe, *née* Milne, from relations (1822-34), 6; papers and accounts (1789-1841), of which a number concern Foxlowe wills, 21; memoranda book of Samuel Foxlowe of Staveley Hall (1770-4).

16/4/1-57. Gisborne [1] correspondence, papers and accounts.

1-17. Correspondence.
Anne Gisborne, *née* Jacson, from relations (*c.* 1718-50), 5; Rev. Francis Gisborne (1802-6), 9 (mainly respecting a bequest to Greenwich Hospital); Dr. Thomas Gisborne, from Sir Francis Milman (1805); Rev. Fletcher Dixon and Catherine, his wife, *née* Gisborne, from relations (1767, 1795), 2.

18-57. Papers and accounts.
Memorandum concerning the settlement before the marriage of the Rev. James Gisborne and Anne Hawkins (1759); settlement before the marriage of Samuel Foxlowe and Dorothy Gisborne (1766); executors' accounts of Lt.-Gen. James Gisborne, M.P. (1778); Chancery suit between the Rev. Fletcher Dixon and his wife Catherine, creditors and legatees of the said Lt.-Gen., and members of the Gisborne family, executors of the same (1778-9), 2; Gisborne wills and testamentary papers (1771-1806), 16; memoranda and accounts of Mrs. Catherine Dixon (1778-89), 1 notebook; miscellaneous papers (18th and 19th cent.), mainly genealogical, 18.

[1] Anne Bagshawe was the daughter of Samuel Foxlowe and his wife Dorothy (*née* Gisborne).

XVII. LORD JOHN MURRAY (d. 1787)

17/1/1-23. Correspondence and papers.

1-4. Correspondence.

Mary, *née* Dalton, *wife* (1760); Jean, Duchess of Atholl, *née* Drummond (1767); Arthur Elliot (1787); J. Wheat (1782).

5-23. Papers.

Advice to his son William, by John, 1st Duke of Atholl (holograph) (1708); instructions of Mary, Duchess of Atholl to her son Lord John Murray (holograph) (1720); memorials of Lord John Murray's services in the army (2 holographs) (*c.* 1767-8), 3; genealogical notes and pedigrees (18th cent.), 6; inventories of plate and pictures (1770-84), 6; accounts (1749-76), 2.

17/2/1-4. Families of Bright and Dalton of Banner Cross.[1]

Letter to Robert Bright from James Dixon (1670); letter to John Bright from James Gisborne (1746); pedigree of Robert Dalton, and an affidavit concerning the same (1813), 2.

XVIII. LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM MURRAY, FORMERLY FOXLOWE (d. 1818)

18/1/1-38. Personal Correspondence.

1-6. Family and relations.

Mrs. Anne Bagshawe, *sister* (1803); Rev. William Bagshawe (1811, 1814), 2; John Dalton (1782); Thomas Foxlowe, *brother* (1787); Mary Murray (1787).

7-38. Others.

John, 4th Duke of Atholl (1810-11), 3; Sir William Chambers Bagshawe (1815); Mrs. M. Burgess (1813); Messrs. Duesbury & Kean, china manufacturers, Derby (1807, 1809), 2; William Elmsall (1785); Mr. Fraser (1811), 2; M. Lawson (1813), 2; John Milne (1804, 1813), 2; Robert Milne (1782, 1811), 2; Edward Orme (1809); William Pontey (1813-17), 9; Charles, 4th Duke of Richmond (1812); William Sleigh (1799); Henry Spicer (1783); William Travis (1810); William Wilberforce (1811); John Winter (1785).

18/2/1-79. Personal papers and accounts.

1-33. Papers.

Licence to use the surname and arms of Murray (1782); release by William Murray to his father of an annuity (1783); bond of Samuel Foxlowe and William Murray to Samuel Hinde for payment, with memorandum (1792), 2; copy of William Murray's will (1818); pedigree of the same showing his heir at law (1818); inventories of plate and linen (1790-1819), 13; notes respecting the gardens at Banner Cross (1815-16), 12; miscellaneous papers (19th cent.), 2.

[1] Mary Bright married Richard Dalton. Mary, their daughter, married Lord John Murray.

34-79. Accounts.

Banner Cross: the house and furnishings (1784-1820), 19; Banner Cross: books (1785-1818), 14; Banner Cross: livery (1789-1806), 5; various (1793-1820), 8.

18/3/1-15. Military correspondence and papers.

Lord William Bentinck (1809); Lt.-Gen. Sir Harvey Calvert (1813-15), 3; Messrs. Ross and Ogilvie (1815), 2; military appointments (1782-1813), 8; memorial to Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord-Lt. of Ireland (1802).

HON. MARY MURRAY (d. 1803)

18/4/1-8. Correspondence and papers.

Respecting John Dalton of York (1784), 2; Robert Dalton (1793); James Montgomery (1793); Rev. John Murray (1787), 2; Mary Murray (1780); account with William Brailsford of Sheffield (1789).

XIX. BAGSHAWES OF THE OAKS

19/1/1-19/2/153. Correspondence, Papers and Accounts.

19/1/1-8. ADAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1724).

Papers respecting the pedigree and arms of the Bagshawes (18th cent.).

19/1/9-36. RICHARD BAGSHAWE (d. 1750).

9-21. Correspondence.

Adam Bagshawe, *father* (1706-08), 6; Thomas Wildman (1732); drafts to various correspondents (1705-27), 6.

22-36. Papers and accounts.

Inventories (1712-50), 3; genealogical notes (18th cent.), 4; miscellaneous (1706-32), 8.

19/1/37-43. RICHARD BAGSHAWE (d. 1776).

37-39. Correspondence.

William, 5th Duke of Devonshire (1780); Andrew Raynes (1772); letter to one of his sisters (n.d.).

40-43. Accounts, various (1756-69), 4.

19/1/44-100. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE (d. 1785).

44-79. Correspondence.

Samuel Bagshawe of Ford, d. 1804 (n.d.); Sarah Hawarth (n.d.); John Archer (1759-83), 3; John Balguy (1784); Rev. William Burrow (1774); respecting Castleton Rectory (1774-83), 14; Lord Frederick Cavendish (1773-9), 7; Lord George Cavendish (1771); Lord John Cavendish (1783); William, 4th Duke of Devonshire (1763); Mrs. M. Jackson (1777); Aymer Riche (1746, 1767), 2; Samuel Salt (1784); Catherine Simpson (1759).

80-100. Papers and accounts.

Inventories (1768-81), 6; papers (18th cent.), 4; accounts (1763-86), 11.

19/1/101-102. JOHN BAGSHAWE (d. 1791).

Letter to the Hon. Edward Perceval (1785); Wormhill inventory (1792).

19/2/1-153. JOHN BAGSHAWE (d. 1801).

1-50. Correspondence.

1-3. Family.

Anne Bagshawe, *sister* (1793); Samuel Bagshawe of Ford, *brother* (1779); Rev. William Bagshawe, *brother* (1795).

4-50. Others.

Mr. Blore (1795); William and Catherine Cart (1793, 1795), 2; respecting Castleton Rectory (1793-1801), 18; William, 5th Duke of Devonshire (1796), 2; Mr. Dickenson (1792); John Fairfax (1801); Mr. Farquhar (1793); William Garrow (1792); John Gee (1782); John Greenway (1793, 1798), 2; George Hall (1793), 2; Micah Hall (1785-97), 3; Mr. Heaton (1797); Mr. Hennard (1800); A. L. Maynard (1793); Mr. Nuttall (1801); Mr. Paitson (1797); T. B. Richards (1799); Joseph Walker (1799); Robert Waller (1799); Mary Whittaker (1801), 2; M. Winter (1799), 2.

51-153. Papers and accounts.

Respecting the Drake family (1625-1816), 51; inventories (1785-97), 7; miscellaneous papers (1762-1802), 8; accounts, various (1781-1803), 37.

XX. SAMUEL BAGSHAWE (d. 1804) AND HIS WIFE CATHERINE, *NÉE* INKSTER (d. 1828)

20/1/1-20/2/15. SAMUEL BAGSHAWE.

20/1/1-27. Correspondence.

1-14. Family and Relations.

Ann Bagshawe, *sister* (1784, 1794), 2; Catherine Bagshawe, *mother* (1763, 1764), 2; John Bagshawe of the Oaks, *brother* (1801); William Bagshawe of the Oaks (1777-8), 5; Rev. William Bagshawe, *brother* (1794-1801), 4.

15-27. Others.

Eusebius Beeston (1784); Rev. John Gee (1783); Micah Hall (1788); Henry Kirk (1788); F. D. Richter (1774); John Shallcross (1770-2), 4; fragments (18th and 19th cent.), 4.

20/2/1-15. Papers and accounts.

Commission as Deputy Lt. for the county of Derby (1781); legal opinion of J. Scott, afterwards Earl of Eldon, respecting the will of Col. Samuel Bagshawe (1791); accounts, various (1759-1804), 13.

20/3/1-30. CATHERINE BAGSHAWE, *née* INKSTER.

1-17. Correspondence.

Anne Bagshawe (1818); Lady Helen Bagshawe of the Oaks (1816); Rev. William Bagshawe (1818, 1827), 2; Mrs. Inkster, *mother* (1795); Ann Newton, *née* Bagshawe (1798-1806), 10; fragments (19th cent.), 2.

18-30. Papers and accounts.

Address of thanks respecting Deed of Trust for the support of Chinley Chapel (1807); valuation of her goods and effects (1828); papers (19th cent.), 4; accounts (1805-18), 7.

XXI. REV. WILLIAM BAGSHAWE OF FORD HALL AND BANNER CROSS (d. 1847)

21/1/1-31. Personal correspondence.

1-11. Family and Relations.

Anne Bagshawe, *wife* (1831); Catherine Bagshawe, *née* Caldwell, *mother* (1799); Catherine Bagshawe, *née* Inkster (1801-18), 3; William Bagshawe, *son* (1816); Sir William Chambers Bagshawe (1806, 1822), 2; Rev. Francis Foxlowe of Staveley (1834), 2; Thomas Gisborne (1839).

12-31. Others.

Elizabeth Blinkhorn (1833, 1837), 2; B. J. Chaland-Latour (1846); Mons. Delonchant (1846); William Elmsall (1799); Stephen Glover (1829); Rev. Samuel Grundy (c. 1828); George Hadfield (1845); Samuel Hall (1804); Rev. George Harrison (1845); R. Hodgkinson (1821); R. Marnock (1840); Misses J. M. and E. Milne (1838-45), 3; Cornelius Norbonn (1845); John Read (1818); Rev. C. P. Vale (1824, 1833), 2; Adam Wolley (1812).

21/1/32-54. Business correspondence.

William Bennet (1827), 2; Messrs. Bouverie and Antrobus (1821-40), 4; John Flewker (1827); Mary Fretwell (1816); Thomas Fretwell (1826), 2; Philip Hencock (1830); John Holland (n.d.); W. Jackson (1792); Henry Kirk (1835); James Montgomery (1832, 1836), 2; Messrs. Parker, Potts and Denton (1830); Martha Roberts (1818); Abraham Sellars (1816), 2; John Slack (1812); S. Stone (1818); John Watson (1840); fragments (19th cent.), 2.

21/2/1-136. Ecclesiastical correspondence and papers.

Robert Bardsley (1836), 2; respecting Castleton Rectory (1803-50), 85; ordinations as Deacon (1789) and Priest (1790), certificates of subscription, licences and similar documents respecting his livings (1789-1822), 31; miscellaneous papers (1792-1834), 18.

21/3/1-126. Personal papers and accounts.

Drafts of letters to various correspondents (1802-44), 11; miscellaneous papers (1813-43), 22; fragments (19th cent.), 3; accounts respecting Banner Cross (1796-1845), 69; personal accounts (1801-43), 21.

XXII. MISCELLANEA

22/1/1-7. Rev. John Ashe of Ashford, co. Derby.
Letters (1728-49), 4; executors' accounts (1736), 3.

22/2/1-17. Clay Family of Bridge House, co. York.
Genealogical notes (18th cent.), 6; letters and deeds (1660-1814), 11.

22/3/1-7. Clegg family of Chinley, co. Derby.
Miscellaneous papers (1748-60), 7.

22/4/1-13. Thomas Cresswell of Tideswell, co. Derby.
Will (1728); executors' papers and accounts (1728-39), 12.

22/5/1-2. Sir Isaac Newton.

Certificate and affidavit respecting the relationship of Sir Isaac to the family of Newton, co. Lincoln (1705), 2.

22/6/1-15. Young of Bradfield Hall, co. Suffolk.

1. Letter book of Arthur Young, sen. (1809-10), 11 ff. (All the letters are addressed to Mrs. Jane Young.)

2-15. Correspondence.

Arthur Young, jun., to his father Arthur Young, the agriculturalist (1805-18), 5; Arthur Young, jun., and his wife Jane, to his mother Martha Young (*c.* 1806), 2; Arthur Young, jun., to his wife Jane (*c.* 1810-1823), 7.

XXIII. SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES

23/1/1-17. FAMILY and ESTATE

Ford

Rev. William Bagshawe[1] (d. 1702).

1. Fragment of a sermon. n.d. [17th cent.]. Holograph.

2. Fragments of four books of sermons by the Rev. William, in the hand of his son Samuel. n.d. [17th cent.].

Colonel Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1762).

3. Cash accounts. 1742-5.

4. Accounts kept by Catherine Bagshawe, his wife, on behalf of their daughter Ann. 1777-80.

Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1804).

5. Accounts of Rev. John Gee. 1781-3.

6. Inventory and valuation of the personal effects of the late Catherine Bagshawe, his wife. 1828.

Rev. William Bagshawe (d. 1847).

7. Diaries. 1794-1843 *passim*. 39 notebooks.

8. Diaries of Anne Bagshawe, his wife. 1801-44 *passim*. 22 notebooks.

The Oaks

Bagshawes of the Oaks.

9. Inventory of plate at the Oaks. 1830-4.

10. "Inventory of the Goods at the Oakes, Feb. 4th 1767. Cor-[r]ected 26 May 1768".

11. "Catalogue of Books belonging Rich[d]. Bagshaw, Esq[r]. taken at Oakes Dec[r]. 1768."

12. Inventory taken by William Hodgkinson, 1776.

[1] The Apostle of the Peak.

13. Inventory of garden tools at the Oaks. 1781-5. With copy for 1781. 3 vols.
14. "Inventory of the goods and effects belonging to John Bagshaw, Esq^{r}., at Wormhill, taken 9th Aug^{t}. 1798." With copy. 2 notebooks.
15. Inventories of the goods and effects belonging to John Bagshawe, at the Oaks. 1791, 1798, 1801. 3 notebooks.
16. Legal note-book of John Bagshawe (d. 1801). 18th cent.
17. Catalogue of the books in the great book case at the Oaks. 18th cent.

23/2/1-5. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Sermons of Rev. Dr. James Clegg. 1717-54.
2. "Brief Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Clegg." n.d. [19th cent.]. Imperf.
3. Account book of the Duke of Devonshire's chaplain at Buxton. 1797-9.
4. Note-book of verses and prose belonging to the Bonsall family. 19th cent.
5. "Quantity and Value of the late Geo. Morewood's Esq^{rs}. Estate at Castleton." n.d. [18th/19th cent.].

XXIV. SUPPLEMENTARY DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS

24/1/1. co. Chester

Birtles

24/1/1. Miscellaneous documents respecting the Birtles family and premises in Birtles, Over Alderley and Henbury. 1748. 4 items.

24/2/1-118. co. Derby

Alton

24/2/1. Grant by William Millward of Alton in Ashover parish, yeoman, to Samuel Sleigh of Northedge, gent., of an annuity issuing from premises in Alton. 19 July 1662.

Barlow

24/2/2. "The endowment of Barlow Church." n.d. [Late 18th cent.] Imperf.

Birchover

24/2/3. Sale by Robert Whitall and John Whitall, gentlemen (sons of Ellen Whitall, daughter and heir of Aden Beresford, sometime of Fennie Bently), to Richard Greaves of the Hill in co. Derby, gent., of messuages and land in Bircher *alias* Birchover, formerly the inheritance of the said Aden. 16 Dec. 1623.

BOLSOVER

24 2/4. Note respecting a mortgage by Lord John Murray on an estate in Bolsover. 13 April 1779.

BONSALL

24 2/5. Letters of administration of Edmund Fern, late of Bonteshall. 24 Aug. 1710.

BRAMPTON

24/2/6. Agreement with William Murray, esq., for the redemption of land tax. 2 July 1803.

BRETTON

24/2/7. Will of Ralph Morton of Bretton, yeoman. 9 Jan. 1792. Note of probate, 26 April. Copy.

BROWNSIDE

24/2/8. Notice respecting the examination of witnesses in a case between Samuel Kirk and Ann, his wife, and others, complainants, and Henry Lomas, Elizabeth Ward and Thomas Radcliffe, defendants. 1 Oct. 1748.

BUXTON

24/2/9. Note in a case respecting the title to messuages and land in Buxton, Bakewell, Hartington, Fairfield and Hope. 10 May 1751.

CASTLETON

24/2/10. Lease for 21 years by Edward Haighe of Thornehill in Hope parish, yeoman, and his wife Elizabeth to Robert Haighe of Castleton, yeoman, his brother, of premises and land in Castleton. 19 May 1660.

24/2/11. Agreement for a year by miners of Castleton Liberty for a payment to Samuel Cryer of Castleton, clerk, in lieu of all the tithe ore due to him and the rest of the proprietors of the rectory of Castleton. 4 Feb. 1663.

24/2/12. Similar agreement for a payment to Richard Torr, in consideration of his part of tithe ore for the same Liberty. 3 Sept. 1667.

24/2/13. Award in a dispute between Samuel Cryer of Castleton, clerk, and Richard Torre of the same, yeoman. 10 Nov. 1667.

24/2/14. Articles of agreement between Christopher Pegg of Beaucheiffe, esq., and Thomas Charlesworth of Castleton, yeoman, for a conveyance to the latter of all the former's title to the rectory and parsonage of Castleton. 1 Jan. 1695/6.

24/2/15. Will of Richard Torr of Castleton, gent. 11 June 1696. Probate, 1 Dec.

24/2/16. Assignment by George Bagshaw of Taddington, yeoman, and Margaret Bagshaw of the same, spinster, to their brother Robert Bagshaw of the same, yeoman, of certain legacies concerned in a marriage agreement between Richard Torr of Castletton [*sic*], gent., and his wife Helen (*née* Bagshaw). 25 July 1697.

24/2/17. Award in a dispute between Richard Bagshaw, gent., and Thomas Wroe, clerk, of the one part, and Thomas Marryott, gent., Robert Hall and John Hall, of the other part. 19 Jan. 1704/5.

24/2/18. Will of Sampson Willson of Castleton, yeoman. 25 May 1715. Probate, 6 Oct.

24/2/19. Appointment of Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, esq.. as High Sheriff of Derbyshire. 3 Jan. 1721.

24/2/20. Bond of Richard Leech, jun., of Derby, innholder, Edward Lowe of Haslewood, gent., and others, to Richard Bagshaw, esq., Sheriff of co. Derby, respecting the appointment of the said Richard Leech as bailiff in the Hundred of Morliston and Litchurch. 2 Feb. 1720 1.

24/2/21. Will of John Bagshaw of Castleton, esq. 27 Feb. 1773.

24/2/22. Sale catalogue of freehold estates at Castleton, Tideswell, Wormhill and Fairfield. 17 June 1816. (Printed.)

24/2/23. Miscellaneous papers concerning the rectorial estate of Castleton. 16th-19th cent. 35 items.

24/2/24. Accounts and receipts respecting the same. 17th-19th cent. 62 items.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH

24/2/25. Award in a dispute between William Barber of Malcalfe, gent., and Charles Kyrke of Cheareoakes, yeoman. 12 July 1653.

24/2/26. Bond of George Shirt of Bowdon head, yeoman, to Robert Bagshaw of Hollinknowle, yeoman, for performance of covenants. 4 Nov. 1656.

24/2/27. Acknowledgment of Edward Shirt of Bowden head, yeoman, to the above Robert Bagshaw, for purchase money of the Bolehill fold. 22 Nov. 1656.

24/2/28. Conveyance by Thomas Eyre of Rowtorr, esq., to Humphrey Thornhill and William Bagshaw, both of Reddichgreene at Townend in Chappell en le Fryth, yeoman, of part of the commons in Chappell parish. 10 April 1684.

24/2/29. Churchwardens' Accounts. 1731.

24/2/30. Accounts of Constables and Headboroughs of Chapel-en-le-Frith parish. 17th-18th cent. 27 items.

24/2/31. Accounts of Overseers of the Highways for the same. 18th cent. 7 items.

24/2/32. Accounts of Overseers of the Poor for the same. 18th cent. 7 items.

24/2/33. Miscellaneous papers relating to Chapel parish, including law suits (1732-8), parish officials (1740-6), the commons (1714-47), and Barber's charity (18th cent.). 17th-18th cent. 26 items.

24/2/34. Receipts to members of the Bagshaw family for rents in Bowden Edge. 1700-1837. 10 items.

CHESTERFIELD

24/2/35. Will of George Youle of Chesterfeild, tanner. 30 Oct. 1655. Probate, 1 May 1658.

24/2/36. Muster Roll of a Company of Foot, " late Captaine Gladwins ", mustered at Chesterfield. 7 July 1690.

24/2/37. Will of Richard Youle of Chesterfeild, lead merchant. 30 June 1699. Probate, 18 April 1701.

24/2/38. Agreement between the creditors of John Peck, late vicar of Chesterfield, deceased. 20 Oct. 1707.

24/2/39. General release by Robert Bright of Dore, gent., to John Bright of Chesterfeild, lead merchant, and John Sprentall of Dronfeild, woollen draper. 17 July 1708.

24/2/40. Bond of indemnity of John Brignt of Chesterfeild, gent., and Richard Roe to John Bright, jun., gent. 22 Oct. 1717.

24/2/41. Appointment by John Bright, esq., High Sheriff of co. Derby, of George Carver of Chesterfeild, gent., as his Undersheriff. 18 Jan. 1721/2.

24/2/42. General release by John Bright the elder of Chesterfield, esq., to John Bright the younger of the same, gent., his son. 26 April 1722.

24/2/43. Receipts and papers respecting legacies under the will of John Bright of Chesterfield. 1734-46. 25 items.

24/2/44. "Particulars of Land near Chesterfield Survey'd by W^m^. Fairbank." 10 April 1769.

DERBY

24/2/45. "Poll taken at the Town Hall, Derby." 11 Dec. 1701. 2 fols. Copy.

DRONFIELD

24/2/46. Release by Mary Youle of Dranfield, widow of Richard Youle, late of Boulsover, blacksmith, to Oliver Youle and George Youle, of all her right in all the said Richard's properties and goods. 14 Feb. 1641/2.

24/2/47. Will of Thomas Pearson of Dronfield, yeoman. 24 Nov. 1778. Copy.

24/2/48. "Particuler of M^r^. Fanshaws Estate at Dronfeild, etc." n.d. [18th cent.].

EDALE

24/2/49. Tithes of wool and lambs in Edale. 1692-1727 *passim*. 33 fols. (7 blank).

EYAM

24/2/50. Will of Godfrey Torr of Eyam, yeoman. 26 Oct. 1685. Probate, 21 April 1686.

FAIRFIELD

24/2/51. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Eyre of Graies Inn, co. Middx., esq., and Richard Shallcrosse of Shallcrosse, esq., for a conveyance to the latter of a portion of the wastes and commons within the towns of Fairefeild, Ferneyleigh and Shallcrosse. 3 May 1675.

24/2/52. Appointment of Edward Dakin, John Goodwin, William Cotterell, Timothy Swinscow, and Humphrey Goodwin, yeomen, as governors of the perpetual chapelry of Fayrefield and of the almshouse of Thomas Dakyn, gent. 12 Jan. 1773. Copy.

FLAGG

24/2/53. "Value of an Estate in Flagg & Chelmerton belonging to Tho: Bagshaw, esq^r." n.d. [18th cent.].

24/2/54. Summons to the Overseers of the Highways for the Liberty of Flagg and Chelmarton to answer for failure to do their duty regarding the repairing of a road. 10 Dec. 1750.

FORD

24/2/55. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by George Bowdon, gent., and Thomas Greensmith against Nicholas Cresswell, respecting 2 messuages and land in Ford. 7 July 1647. With copy.

24/2/56. Will of Eleanor Barker of Ford, spinster. 15 April 1691. Copy.

24/2/57. Will of William Bagshaw of Ford ["the Apostle of the Peak"]. 15 Oct. 1701. Probate, 27 April 1702. Copy. With inventory (20 April 1702) and receipt for legacy (31 Oct. 1713).

24/2/58. Will of Samuel Bagshawe of Ford, gent. 7 Sept. 1706. Copy. With inventory, 17 Dec.

24/2/59. Bond of indemnity of William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to Thomas Bowre of Torr top, yeoman. 12 Jan. 1715.

24/2/60. Will of Frances Bagshaw of Chester, widow. 16 Jan. 1718. 2 copies, with legal opinions endorsed.

24/2/61. Bond of indemnity of William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to Maria Shuttelworth of Marple Bridge, co. Chester, spinster. 14 Jan. 1722/3.

24/2/62. Will of Adam Younge of Ford, yeoman. 2 Feb. 1730/1. Probate, 22 Oct. With copy and inventory (12 Oct.).

24/2/63. Testamentary papers of Mary Bagshaw of Ford. *c.* 1745-54. 3 items.

24/2/64. Wills of William Bagshaw of Ford, gent.: (*a*) 24 Feb. 1741, with codicil; (*b*) 13 Jan. 1748, with codicil 16 Nov. 1749; (*c*) 18 Jan. 1752; (*d*) 9 Nov. 1756, with copy and release for legacy (11 May 1760).

24/2/65. Wills of Samuel Bagshaw, Colonel of the 93rd Regiment of Foot: (*a*) 20 Sept. 1746 (as captain in Brigadier Richbell's Regiment); (*b*) 29 May 1754, codicil 10 Oct. 1755 (Lt.-Col. to the 39th Regiment of Foot); (*c*) n.d. [he died 16 Aug. 1762], probate 12 Jan. 1763, with bond.

24/2/66. Will of Catherine Bagshaw, widow of the above Col. Samuel. 18 July 1793. Copy.

24/2/67. Sale catalogue of parts of the estate of Samuel Bagshawe of Ford Hall. 20 March 1794. Printed. 2 copies.

24/2/68. Miscellaneous legal papers concerning the Bagshawes of Ford Hall. 18th cent. 8 items.

24/2/69. Pedigree (1601-62) of the Bagshawes of Ford. 18th cent.

24/2/70. Will of Samuel Bagshaw of St. Luke's parish, co. Middx. 24 April 1793. Probate, 9 June 1804.

HEMSWORTH

24/2/71. Declaration of obedience to Charles II by Nicholas Stones of Hemsworth. 2 June 1660.

HIGH PEAK

24/2/72. Land tax assessments for the township of Boden Middlecale. 1704, 1706. 2 items.

24/2/73. Order to the Constable of the township of Bowden Middlecale in the Hundred of High Peake for the apprehension of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. 9 April 1715.

24/2/74. Bond of indemnification of William Garnet of Evesholme *alias* Elevensholme in Manchester parish, co. Lanc., weaver, to John Marriot of Heyfield, yeoman, respecting a messuage called *Raven Slack* with premises and land, surrendered at a Small Court Baron for the Hundred and Liberty of High Peak. 5 May 1728.

24/2/75. Ravenslack: "The accounts of Thomas Bradbury, August the 3th [*sic*] 1733, who served the office of Chappell Warden."

24/2/76. Appointment of William Bagshaw, esq., and Micah Hall, gent., as deputy stewards for the Lordship and Manor of High Peak. [*Blank for day and month*], 1761. Draft.

24/2/77. "An Act to Discharge certain Lands, heretofore Part of the Estate and Inheritance of Thomas Eyre, Esquire, deceased, situate within the Lordship of High Peak . . . from the Payment of a certain Fee-Farm Rent." 1776. (Printed.)

24/2/78. Documents and papers relating to the coronership of the High Peak. 18th-19th cent. 9 items.

HOPE

24/2/79. Judgment in Radcliffe *v.* Bagshaw, respecting lands in Black Edge in Hope parish. 1796.

HUCKLOW, GREAT AND LITTLE

24/2/80. Order to William Bagshawe, Adam Bagshawe and John Bagshawe for the provision of a half horse for the militia of co. Derby. 12 July 1683.

24/2/81. Will of John Bagshaw of Greatt Huicklow, esq. 23 Oct. 1704. Copy.

24/2/82. Bond of Nathaniel Bagshaw of the Inner Temple, London, gent., to Adam Bagshaw, jun., of Wormehill, gent., respecting a share of the personal estate of Jedidiah Bagshaw, late of Great Hucklow, gent. 6 June 1706.

KILLAMARSH

24/2/83. Final concord between Thomas Bagshawe, gent., and Nicholas Bagshawe, gent., plaintiffs, and George Fox, gent., and Dorothy, his wife, William Eyre, gent., and Henry Balgay, jun., gent., deforciants, respecting a messuage, premises and land in Kinwallmarsh *alias* Killamarsh, and Eckington, and 2 messuages and land in Fulwood, Hallam, Ecclesall, Sheffeild, Bradfeild, Smalefeild, Waldesshelfe, Moorehall and Ecclesfeild, and tithes issuing from the same, and annual rents in Boulsterstone, co. York. Oct. of Purification, 1666.

MONSAL DALE

24/2/84. Conveyance by John Shalcrosse of Shalcrosse, esq., to George Raworth of Mornesodale, husbandman, of his messuage in Mornesodale with appurtenances. 4 Nov. 1625.

NORTON

24/2/85. I.P.M. of Edward Gill, late of Norton, yeoman. 30 Aug. 1614.

24/2/86. Memorandum respecting W. Blyth's indenture for his tithes. 6 Nov. 1675.

24/2/87. Certificate authorizing the house of Mrs. Wood in Norton to be a Meeting House for Dissenting Protestants. 3 Oct. 1694. 2 copies.

24/2/88. Articles of agreement between John Bagshaw of Great Hucklow, esq., and Alexander Radcliffe of Fox Denton, co. Lanc., esq., respecting the marriage settlement of Elizabeth, daughter of John and wife of Alexander. 29 Jan. 1699/1700.

24/2/89. "My [Richard Bagshawe] commission for Justice of Peace." 6 July 1720.

24/2/90. Will of Storey Wingfield of Haslebrough in Norton parish, gent. 26 Jan. 1725/6. Note of probate, April 1730. Copy.

24/2/91. Instructions for Thomas Wright for drawing up the will of Anne Wingfeild of Norton. 1733.

24/2/92. Will of Joshua Fox of Greenhill in Norton parish. 1 July 1768. Copy.

24/2/93. Bond of John Hawarth of Manchester, co. Lanc., esq., to Richard Bagshaw of Wormhill, esq., William Bagshaw of Cotes, co. York, esq., and John Bagshaw of Castleton, esq., respecting the marriage settlement of Mary, wife of the above John Hawarth and daughter of Richard Bagshaw, late of Oakes, esq. 6 Nov. 1769.

24/2/94. Legal opinion in a case respecting the marriage settlement of the late Richard Bagshaw. 28 Aug. 1777.

24/2/95. Will of William Bagshaw of Oakes. 1 Jan. 1784.

24/2/96. Appointment of John Bagshawe, esq., as Deputy Lieutenant of co. Derby. 30 Jan. 1797.

24/2/97. Bond of indemnity of John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., to Isaac Wilkinson and John Wilkinson of Chesterfield, merchants. 14 Oct. 1798.

24/2/98. Release by John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq., to Micah Hall of a legacy. 25 Oct. 1798. Draft.

PEAK FOREST

24/2/99. Bond of indemnity of John Frith, jun., of Bagshaw, yeoman, to Samuel Frith of Peake Forrest, yeoman. 25 March 1717.

24/2/100. Will of Humphrey Wilshaw of Smalldale in Peake Forrest, yeoman. 17 June 1736. Probate, 4 Nov.

RUSHUP

24/2/101. Bond of Anthony Gybbe, jun., of Bagshawe, yeoman, to John Lyngard of Slackhall, yeoman, respecting deeds concerning premises in Lytle Roysshopp. 13 Feb. 1577.

SLACKHALL

24/2/102. Lease for 999 years by John Lingard the younger of Slack Hall in Chappell parish, yeoman, and his brother Thomas to Jeremiah Fielding of Malcoff, husbandman, of part of a close called the *Lower Rood*, part of Slackhall. 31 May 1681.

TIDESWELL

24/2/103. Will of George Vernon of the Tidswall. n.d. [18th cent.] Copy.

WHITWELL

24/2/104. Bond of indemnity of John Westby of Birks in Whitwell parish, yeoman, to Henry Westby of Carrhouse Grange in Rotherham parish, co. York, gent. 30 July 1655.

WORMHILL

24/2/105. Bargain and sale by Anthony Tunsteede of Tunsteede, gent., and Joyce [Joyes, MS.], his wife, and Robert Tunsteede, his son, to William Bagshawe of Litton, yeoman, of a messuage, with appurtenances in Hardickwall and Hill and lands in the town fields or territories of the same. 6 Nov. 1574.

24/2/106. Feoffment by the above Anthony Tunsteede, Joyce and Robert, to the above William Bagshawe, of the same. 13 Nov. 1574.

24/2/107. Release of the same. 12 Dec. 1574.

24/2/108. Release by George Croslye of Hill in Tydswall parish, husbandman, to Richard Longdone the elder of Wormhill, yeoman, of all his right in all the tithes of corn and hay issuing from a messuage in Hardickwall within the fields, villages or hamlets of Hardickwall and Hill. 24 April 1607.

24/2/109. Agreement between Henry Bagshaw of Wormhill and Robert Bagshaw of Hardickwall, of the one part, and Thomas Slacke of Wormhill, of the other part, to exchange land at Wormhill. 28 Dec. 1649.

24/2/110. Exchange between Robert Bagshaw of Wormhill, yeoman, of the one part, and William Bagshaw of Great Hucklow, gent., and William Bagshaw of Glossopp, of the other part, of lands in the fields of Wormhill. 22 Aug. 1660.

24/2/111. Conveyance by William Bagshawe of Foord in Chappell parish, gent., to Peter Barker of Wormhill, tailor, of a barn in Wormhill. 9 June 1674.

24/2/112. Acknowledgment by George Bagshawe of Hill near Wormehill, yeoman, to George Bower of Tyddeswall, yeoman, of the receipt of money concerned in a bargain and sale. 1 Nov. 1679.

24/2/113. Probate of the will of Anthony Longden, late of Wormhill. 13 April 1686.

24/2/114. Will of William Peake of Greatrax, yeoman. 29 Jan. 1704. Draft.

24/2/115. General release by George Beaumont of Chappell Thorpe, co. York, gent. (surviving executor of John Bagshaw, late of Great Hucklow, esq.), to Adam Bagshaw of Wormehill, gent. 18 Oct. 1707.

24/2/116. Will of Roger Wilkson of Wormhill, clerk. 4 April 1714. Copy.

24/2/117. Release by Adam Bagshaw of Wormehill, gent., to Anthony Goodwyn of Gretrax, yeoman, of closes in Gretrax, Tunsted and Wormehill. 15 Sept. 1720.

WYE, RIVER

24/2/118. Miscellaneous papers relating to the Wye river fishery. 18th-19th cent. 6 items.

24/3/1. CO. HEREFORD

HEREFORD

24/3/1. Will of Frances Barroll of the city of Hereford, widow. 11 Aug. 1781. Probate, 25 March 1784.

24/4/1-2. CO. LANCASTER

NEWTON HEATH

24/4/1. Will of Alexander Radclyff of Newton Heath esq. 14 Nov. 1732. Copy.

WIGAN

24/4/2. Petition to Parliament by the "Cotton Spinners in and adjoining to the County of Lancaster", respecting unemployment. n.d. [late 18th cent.].

24/5/1-12. CO. YORK

BUTTON HILL

24/5/1. Bond of indemnity of William Osborne of Button Hill in Sheffield parish, bellowsmaker, to Samuel Pearson of Little Sheffield, cutler. 28 March 1727.

24/5/2. Letter of attorney by the above William Osborne to Thomas Wright, James Mundy and Robert Chappell to appear for him in the court of King's Bench at the suit of George Bagshaw of Beauchief Abbey, scythesmith. 30 Jan. 1730/1.

24/5/3. Sale by the same to the above George Bagshaw, of household and other personal goods in his house, smithy, etc. at Button Hill. 13 Oct. 1731.

DONCASTER

24/5/4. Will of Mary Heaton of Doncaster, widow. Jan. 1753. Endorsed: *unexecuted.*

24/5/5. "An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of M^rs^. Heaton, widow, late of Doncaster, deceased." 31 March 1753.

ECCLESALL BIERLOW

24/5/6. I.P.M. of John Bright, late of Bannercrosse. 6 Sept. 1639. With extracts from proceedings of Ecclesall Manor court respecting the same.

24/5/7. Will of Robert Bright of Banner Crosse, yeoman. 1 Aug. 1667. Probate, 28 Sept. With extract from Ecclesall manor court respecting his I.P.M.

24/5/8. Settlement after the marriage of John Bright (son of John Bright of Banner Crosse, gent.), and Mary, daughter of Richard Youle of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, leadmerchant. 15 June 1685.

24/5/9. Bond of John Dyson of Sheffeild, plasterer, to John Bright, jun., of Banner Cross, gent., for performance of covenants. 14 June 1709.

HALLAM

24/5/10. Extracts from Sheffield manorial court respecting William Unwin and Thomas Thornell and premises in Hallam. 1653, 1668. 2 items.

24/5/11. Final concord between Joseph Banks, gent., plaintiff, and Joseph Jolley, gent., and Martha, his wife, and others, deforciants, respecting 4 messuages, premises and land in Thurlestanmeere, Ecklands, Hallam, Sheffeild, Thurgoland, Ecclesall and Masborough. Quind. of Trin., 1700.

YORK

24/5/12. Oath of Richard Dalton, brewer, as freeman of the city of York. 16 Feb. 1725.

24/6/1. MISCELLANEOUS

24/6/1. Miscellanea and fragments (incl. extracts from parish registers and cut-out signatures and seals).

[Owing to its length, the "Hand-List of the Bagshawe Muniments" has been divided between this BULLETIN and the BULLETINS for September 1953 and March 1954. It is being reprinted as a separate publication, which will be provided with an Index of Persons and Places.]

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